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PLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

IV. THE HARBORS AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE ANCIENT
ATHENIANS—THE MODERN PEIRÆEUS.

Earlier erroneous views on the subject—Important discoveries made—Description of the Munychian Peninsula—The three Athenian Galley ports: The Peiræus—Zea—Munychia—The true site of Phaleros—Ancient History of the Peiræus—The Peiraic and Phaleric Long Walls—The third wall of Perikles—Inscriptions of the walls; of the fleet—Kantharos—Hippodamean Market-place—Emporium—Deigma—Arsenal of Pheilon—Castle of Munychia—Solon—Stadium—Theatre—Temples—Serangeion—Thieves and Swindlers—Pikrokrene near the Phreattys—Sepulchre of Themistokles—Of Admiral Miaulis—Burial grounds—Excavations—Athenian Widow—Sarcophagi—Modern History of the Peiræus—Karaiskakis—His death—Defeat of the Greeks—Churches—Military College of the Euelpides—American Mission School—Quarantine—Wharfs—Scenery—Commerce—Prosperity of the ancient Republic—Departure of the Sicilian fleet—Its destruction and decline of Athens.

HAVING given a sketch of the Akropolis and its Sanctuaries in the preceding number of the Review, we shall, in the present, invite the attention of the readers to another subject—not of art and ornament—but of practical utility, and of the highest importance with regard to the rapid and gigantic development of the ancient Athenian Republic—the harbors, naval and commercial establishments at the Peiræus and the other adjacent ports on the coast of Attica.

On no other part of Athenian antiquities have so many disquisitions been written, so many doubts and difficulties been started, so many mistakes and blunders been committed, and—of late—so many interesting discoveries been made.

From the time of the revival of classical literature when the Dutch philologists, Meursius, Gronovius, Graevius and others, in the seventeenth century, published their learned compilations on the Peiræus, down to the beginning of the present century, the antiquarians of western Europe wrote their heavy folios, from their closet, without the desirable knowledge of the topography of Greece; they freely awarded the classical names of antiquity to harbors, coasts and mountains according to their idea of that distant and almost entirely unknown country, and their imaginary maps, had taken such a hold on the mind of the scholars of that age, that though in plain contradiction with the clear and elegant text of the classical authors, their delineations were regarded as founded on incontrovertible facts. Even the apparent contradictions in the ancient writers were explained away with ridiculous sophistical arguments, and the great historians, Thukydides, Xenophon and Plutarch, were openly taxed with unpardonable inaccuracies and slips of the pen.

Even the practical and otherwise profound antiquarian, Colonel Martin Leake, who travelled in Greece between the years 1802 and 1808, arrived, so pre-possessed by his earlier studies, that while riding through the plain of the Kephissos and discovering only here and there some few ruins of the *two* parallel Long-Walls, leading from Athens down to the Peiræus, he accused Thukydides, Aristophanes, Harpokration and others, of neglect and inaccuracy, for having in divers places mentioned *three* walls between the capital and the port. And when arrived in the port of the Peiræus itself, with its numerous fortifications and moles, the British Colonel boldly laid down a plan—the most absurd in the world—according to which the harbor of the Peiræus is supposed to have inclosed within its basin both the commercial and military harbors of ancient Athens, quite contrary to the natural conformation of the coast.

The small swamps formed in the interior of that harbor by

the frequent inundations of the winter torrents and the neglected state of the plain during the Turkish dominion in Greece, were now dignified as separate fortified galley ports independent of the Peiræus itself, just as if the glorious Athenian fleets had consisted, not of large and many oared galleys, but of mere nut shells. Nay, Colonel Leake himself depreciates this interesting subject entirely by stating quite seriously that the Peiræus is a harbor just large and deep enough to receive a British frigate—while many an American traveler, during the revolutionary movements in the year 1844, may have observed no less than four French and English line-of-battle-ships moored side by side, as closely as the cordial and good understanding of King Louis Philippe and Queen Victoria would then have permitted—and being surrounded by quite a squadron of war-steamers, Austrian, Russian and Hellenic corvettes, brigs and smaller craft—all at the same time at anchor in the interior basin of the Peiræus.

When the haughty and cruel Sylla, the Roman, in 86 B. C., with ruthless hand destroyed the Peiræus and the other harbors on the Munychian peninsula, the Athenian Republic lost its remaining commerce and the few colonies which recognized its dominion. The ruinous town and the open dreary coast then became more and more abandoned; the lower plain of Athens again formed those unhealthy swamps and marshes, which, during the Middle Ages, rendered that tract of country almost uninhabitable.

The glorious name of the Peiræus had been forgotten, and the Italian mariner only now and then steered his light caravel into the bleak and solitary Drako-Limin or Porto Leoneo (the Dragon or Lion-Port,) as the Peiræus then was called, to embark a cargo of oil, wine, honey or goat-skins for Leghorn and Trieste. The only habitations in one of the largest and most secure ports of the Mediterranean, at that period of despotism and misery, consisted only in a small Turkish Custom-house and the fortified Greek Convent of Saint Spiridon, which were both burned down and destroyed during the war of independence.

But on the establishment of the new Capital of King Otho

at Athens in 1834, a new busy, healthy, and at present, even wealthy city, of more than six thousand active and intelligent citizens from the mainland and islands of Greece and western Europe, sprung up as if by magic. It is true, however, that this sudden occupation of the ancient soil, proved detrimental to the antiquities. Some ancient structures here and there were built up into the modern dwellings. The beautiful square blocks of the Themistoklean walls were, during night, broken away and carried off by the Greeks themselves, and many a beautiful bass-relief, statue and sepulchral monument was secreted by the Maltese workmen and smugglers on board the British men-of-war, where the English navy officers paid higher prices than King Otho's penniless antiquarians. Yet, the entire ancient city of Peiræus with its streets, squares, gates, and walls now became excavated, and the Museums at Athens were continually enriched with inscriptions, statuary, vases, and sepulchral monuments from the excavations within the city and the numerous tombs of the *nekropolis* or burial-ground in the environs. Having ourselves resided there for nearly ten years, after the removal of the Royal Military College of the Euelpides from the island of Ægina to the Peiræus—1836—1844—and having followed up those successive discoveries, step by step, we shall now attempt to bring the results of our investigations into a correct and faithful picture, without daring to touch upon details, which, however interesting in themselves, might carry us too far away among the grand and venerable visions of antiquity.

The particular advantages of the site of Athens did not only consist in the strong and almost impregnable Rock of her Akropolis, but much more in the highly remarkable character of her rocky coast, where nature had formed another *still loftier*, still stronger fortress, with beautiful subjacent ports, the excellent position of which mainly contributed to the extensive traffic and great naval powers of Athens.

The perfect security of these harbors, so conveniently distributed for the divisions of the Athenian fleet, nay, the Peninsular form of Attica herself, the ruler of the Archipelagus, and proud mediator between Asia and Europe—and even her stony

and barren soil—all this combined to call forth the activity, courage and spirit of enterprize of this admirable people, the Americans of antiquity.

From the Akropolis let us descend to the Market-place, mentioned in our preceding number; and then crossing the hill of the Pnyx westward, a pleasant ride of three quarters of an hour will carry us through the evergreen and fragrant olive wood and the vine-yards to the low, marshy level of the sea-coast, where following the ruins of the ancient Long walls—*makra skele*—we arrive at the Peiræus. There rises a steep hill ascending in two offsets or terraces, to a height of five hundred feet above the level of the sea, from the summit of which we enjoy a most delightful view to the Munychian Peninsula with its three harbors: the Peiræus, Zea and Munychia below, the promontory of Alkimos and the large southern bay of Phaleron, and farther west, in the distance, the islands of Salamis and Ægina and the whole panorama of the high mountains in Peloponnesus and Phokis. This high hill is, by the present Greeks, called *Ta Kastella*, or the Castle, and was in antiquity crowned by the celebrated fortress of Munychia, a name taken from one of the mythical kings of Attica.

The largest harbor on the west, a beautiful basin, three miles in circumference, is the ancient PEIRÆUS—which, during the Middle Ages, was called the Dragon Port—on account of the colossal marble statue of a Lion, which for many centuries remained lying on the shore, until General Moronini, in 1687, transported it to Venice and placed it before the gate of the Arsenal, where it is still seen*.

East of the Peiræus, and divided from it by a low isthmus or tongue of land, lies another beautiful, but smaller harbor, having, like the Peiræus, a fortified entrance and all around ruins of lime-stone blocks and immense excavations, deeply cut in the rock, indicating the wharfs of the ancient Galleys. From important inscriptions lately found, we now know that this

* Another marble lion, placed opposite to the above mentioned, they brought from Eleusis. The Venetians were fond of adorning their city with trophies from their wars. In 1204 they had already brought the celebrated four bronze-guilt horses from Constantinople, and many of the palaces of the nobility on the grand canal contain precious antiquities.

second harbor was called ZEA, and that it was the principal galley port of the Athenians. Eastward of the Zea, just below the lowering, almost precipitous castle-hill, on the summit of which we are now standing, is a third smaller basin, locked in by rugged craggs—this is of course, the ancient port of MUNYCHIA, with the celebrated Temple of Artemis, or Diana, a place of great sanctity, to which the banished, or ostrakised citizens of Athens fled for protection from the fury of the turbulent democracy. The ruins of the sanctuary are still seen outside the walls, with stairs cut in the rock descending to the water's edge. It was here, on the altar of Artemis, that the bilious Æschines, after his defeat in the controversy with Demosthenes, awaited the vessel which was to carry him into banishment. It was a dark night, and a howling storm, but the disgraced orator steering boldly through the foaming waves landed next day safely on Keos.

These three harbors, the Peiræus, Zea and Munychia, all commanded by the towering Castle, were land-locked ports—*kleistoi limenes*—or harbors, the entrances of which were secured by solid walls and towers and closed by heavy chains. They were fortified by Themistokles, immediately after the great Persian war in 477 B. C.*

But the reader may perhaps ask: Where then was situated the most ancient harbor of Athens—the celebrated Phaleros, or Phaleron, from which Theseus departed for Crete, and the Athenian King, Menestheus, with his small fleet set sail for Aulis to join Agamemnon and the immense armada of the united Greeks going to war against Troy?

This open port, according to our latest discoveries, did not, as was formerly supposed, lie on the Munychian Peninsula, but three miles southward on the large Phaleric Gulf, nearly half the distance nearer to Athens than the more remote Peiræus. After the devastations of the Persians in 480–479 and the

* The ancients called the harbors, formed by nature, *αυτοφυλεις λιμνες*—and those excavated in the rocky bed of the coast, like our docks, *ορυκτοι*, excavated, or *χειροποιητοι*—made by human labor. Sparta had no port in the time of Lykurgus, and later, she, by the immense labor of her miserable Helotes, excavated the harbor of Gythion on the Lakonic gulph, the ruins of which, are still seen in the vine-yards of the modern town of Marathonist.

building of the fortified ports on the Peninsula, it became abandoned and is never mentioned by later writers, as belonging to the land-locked galley-ports of the Republic. Pausanias in the second century, describes its ruins as still existing, among which were the altars of the *Unknown gods*—*Βωμοὶ ἄνωνυμοι*—of the Attic heroes and the sons of Theseus.

Between the hills of the Peiræus (the Munychian Peninsula) and the distant rising ground of the olive-wood, extends a large swamp, or marshy plain, partly overflowed by the waves of the Phaleric Bay. This swamp was, according to Strabo and Pliny, in the remotest times of antiquity, entirely covered by the sea, which then separated the Peiræus from the mainland of Attica, and they, therefore, explain the etymology of the name *Peiræus*, by the *πέραν ἡθοῦς*, or the island *beyond* or *far off*, from the coast. The sand, which the south wind threw up on the open beach of Phaleron, and the lime brought down by the river Kephissos, and other torrents, formed, in the course of time, the salt plain, in Greek “*τὸ ἀλιωθρον*” or the swampy and saltish level, now called “*τὸ λαβὰς*,” the plain of Athens.

The difference of the soil, and the whole character of this plain show, that such a revolution has taken place here. Similar formations of alluvial lands, we find in different parts of Greece, as for instance at Thermopylæ and at the mouth of the river Acheloos in Akarnania, where the islands called Echinades have been united with the main-land, and the celebrated fortress Messolonghi, was formerly a mere shoal, lying far off from the coast.

The marshes have now been drained; different canals lead off the waters of the river Kephissos into the gulph of Phaleron. These ditches and the artificial embankments near the Peiræus, mainly contribute to render the atmosphere more salubrious and to lessen the chills and fevers formerly prevailing throughout the plain.

In the Pieræus, there existed a village, or *deinos*, of high antiquity; but the marshy nature of its environs and the difficulty of communication between the coast and Athens seem to have been the principal causes, why the Athenians made use

of Phaleros as their seaport. The Phaleros, though an open harbor, was well protected by its cape from the south-western winds, the *Lips* of the Greeks, and from the still more violent Skyron, or north-west wind, by the far projecting promontory of the Munychian peninsula. The direct road leading from the city of Kekrops to the coast of Phaleros, was dry and easy throughout the year, and half the distance nearer than the now circuitous route through the marshes to the Peiræus, because it must be remembered, that the most ancient settlement at Athens, according to Thukydides, was situated on the south and west of the Akropolis, on the banks of the Ilissos. Moreover, the old Athenian Kings, in the remote times, before the stirring and warlike democracy arose, were opposed to all navigation and commerce with foreign countries. Nay, it is a curious circumstance, that Plutarch gives as a reason for their protection of agriculture and the training of the Olive, their superstitious fears of Neptune, after their having accepted Minerva as the protectress of their city. That superstition in a remarkable manner pervades the whole political and literary history of Athens.

It was not until the Persian wars in the fifth century before our era, that Themistokles first started the idea of forming a large naval establishment in the three natural harbors. This immense undertaking began 477 B. C., two years after the destruction of the Persians at Platea. But although the new ports became fortified, it was at that time impossible to abandon the old Phaleros, where the Athenians for so many centuries had fixed their commercial establishments. They moreover knew from experience, how easily the enemy could land in the gulph of the Phaleros, and through the plain march straightway up to the city.*

* Such an attack from the gulph of Phaleron through the open plain, had been undertaken by the Spartans about 512 B. C. It has the most astonishing resemblance to the disastrous defeat of the Greeks in May 1827. Herodotus says, V, 63, that the Spartans sent an army under their general Anchimolias, by sea, to Attica, in order to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. Anchimolias, like General Church, landed his troops at Phaleron and marched through the plain toward Athens. But the Pisistratidæ, having had notice of this beforehand, called in assistance from Thessaly and the Thessalians having sent them their king Kineas with a thousand horse, these, by an

In order, therefore, to unite the city with the Peiræus and Phaleros, they built two long walls in the year 457, the northern or Peiraic, forty stadia, or five miles in length, uniting with the Peiræus, and the southern or Phaleric wall, thirty-five stadia long, enclosing the old port on the gulf. The northern wall was constructed across the swamp or salt plain, where it sank, and remained unfinished at the time of the exile of Themistokles. Kimon, the son of Miltiades, afterwards made extensive reparations and brought the gigantic work to its termination. Both walls stood in their perfection, the wonder of the age, in the year 449, when Kimon died during the expedition to Cyprus. Their height was forty feet; their breadth twelve feet; their foundations were blocks of squared lime-stones; the upper part of the wall was built with bricks; they had a battlemented roof and large windows—*thyrides*—for the watchmen. An aqueduct ran along the northern wall and kept the subterranean cisterns of the Peiræus constantly filled with water.

Some years afterwards, the young, ambitious Perikles, the leader of the democratic party, represented to the assembled people, the urgent necessity of still more strongly fortifying the long walls, with the addition of a third or middle wall, running parallel with the Peiraic wall, and Sokrates, the philosopher, often told his friends that he, as a boy ten years of age, had heard the eloquent and powerful speech of Perikles, proposing the erection of the middle wall, and that it had left an indelible impression on his youthful mind. When, in the year 431, the Peloponnesian war broke out between Athens and Sparta, and their numerous allies, the city of Athens, the Phaleros, and the three land-locked harbors were completely fortified by walls and towers all along the coast and by the three *long lines* of walls, securing the continual communication between the city and the harbors. Seventeen thousand Athenian citizens, guarded this immense circumference, embracing one hundred and ninety-five stadia, or thirty English miles. From

impetuous attack, surprised and routed the Spartans in the plain. Anchimolias and many of the Lacedæmonians were slain, and the survivors driven to their ships. The sepulchre of the Spartan invaders was afterwards shown at the temple of Hercules in Kynosarges, near Athens.

his inexpugnable towers the proud Athenian mocked at all the vain efforts of the less civilized, slow and superstitious Spartans, who, though they destroyed his splendid country-houses, his vineyards, fields, and flocks, in the open country, dared not approach his *adamantine ramparts*.

Nay, we shall even go farther, and here make a highly important historical remark, characterizing that period of Athenian supremacy in Hellas, and it is: that the construction of *long walls*, uniting the cities in the interior with their harbors, became, at that time, as it were, the true type of democracy. All the Hellenic republics, which either voluntarily joined the great Ionian or Athenian confederacy, or by force of arms, were occupied by the Athenians, and obliged to adopt democratic forms of government—now followed the example of their powerful leader, and the Megara, Korinth, Argos, Patræ, Knidos in Asia Minor, the cities in Thrace and others, were all fortified with walls, reaching down to the sea coast. Hundreds of Athenian engineers and thousands of workmen were no doubt actively engaged in rearing the immense fortifications of their allies, who thus paid doubly, while the Athenian fleets were better enabled to support the popular governments against all the vain exertions of the Dorian or Spartan alliance of the aristocracy on the mainland. But alas, in the course of this destructive war, Athens lost her fleets, her colonies, her riches and her virtues! After the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, victories on victories and then one defeat following the other, her last fleet was totally destroyed on the Hellespont. She surrendered, and the proud Lysander with his victorious Spartans, at the clangor of their trumpets, now broke down and demolished the long walls and all the fortifications of the harbors. Yet they did not for a long time remain in ruins. The brave Thrasybalus, with his exiled friends from the mountain castle of Phyle, surprised the open port of the Peiræus and fortified himself on the castle hill of Munychia. From there he attacked and overturned the thirty tyrants, and restored the democracy of Athens, while the victorious Konon, a few years later, in 394, after his victory over the Spartan fleet of Knidos in Asia Minor, *with Persian money*, rebuilt

the parallel long walls and the towers of the harbors. The southern or Phaleric wall was never rebuilt, and henceforth we find no mention of it in history. These long legs or arms, —*ὤζελγ, brachia*—as they were called, remained in a more or less ruinous state during the Macedonian conquest, until the time of Lucius Cornelius Sylla. The terrible Roman, after the carnage at Athens, besieged the army of Mithridates in the Peiræus. The Romans now destroyed the long walls and used their materials for the common works they raised in order to attack the castle of Munychia and the Peiræus from the plain. Tremendous battles were fought—*victory* for a long time remained undecided; at last Roman prowess bore down all opposition; the Barbarians fled on board their ships and the victors with fire and sword destroyed the noblest works of antiquity; the Peiræus, Munychia; the fortresses, porticoes, arsenals and wharfs—all were burnt, all were levelled to the ground, according to that systematic, truly Roman principle of extermination. Eighty years later, when Strabo visited that celebrated place, he found nothing but ruins and an open coast.

Such is the accurate history of the Peiræus. In the year 1829, some highly interesting inscriptions, relating to repairs of the long walls, were discovered on the pavement of a Greek church at Athens. They belong to the 110th Olympiad, that is, 339 B. C., the year preceding the fatal battle of Chæroneia, in which the Athenians and their allies, lost their army and their independence against the crafty old Philipp of Macedon. The marble slabs contain a decree or *φηγμα* of the people for the repairs of the city walls, those of the Peiræus, and the long walls, giving the direction of the undertaking to Habron, the son of of Lycurgus, the famous Athenian orator, who flourished in that period. Though the marbles have suffered and a great part of the inscription is now illegible, yet many important illustrations with regard to the construction of the walls, the materials employed, and their ornaments, are given, which enrich the Greek dictionary with a number of hitherto unknown architectural terms. We likewise learn the ten military divisions of the Athenian walls, the number of

their towers, the vaulted canals of the Kephissos, which passed beneath them, and many other important details.

Many traces of the two parallel walls are still extant. Their lines, with an interval of only five hundred and sixty paces, descend from the western fortifications of Athens and join the walls of the Munychia at the base of the hill. The northern wall was the best preserved, and presented great masses of square blocks in regular courses, at the arrival of King Otho in 1834. But when the new macadamized high-road was laid out across the marshy plain, the Bavarian engineer officers employed those beautiful relics of antiquity to strengthen the foundations of the cause-way, which, for nearly three miles, rested on the ancient wall. Thus the ruins of Themistokles soon disappeared and only a few large free stones were walled up on the foot-path of the road to indicate the direction and the breadth of the ancient structure.

The middle wall, running through vineyards and the less frequented part of the Olive-grove, is at present in a better state of preservation. It was for several years one of our most pleasant occupations to follow its more or less, distinct traces from the hill of Munychia to the western spur of the Muscion. In many places it still forms a mound or dike, on which a by-road runs along the vineyards, and numerous square blocks are either lying about in that direction, or have been built up into the enclosures of the gardens. Once we quite unexpectedly, on the western offset of the Muscion, found a solid part of the middle wall, just where it forms a right angle with the fortifications of the Muscion hill.

The space between the walls was in antiquity occupied by temples, sepulchral monuments and numerous buildings, of which still, here and there, ruins are seen. Several artificial tumuli have been opened by the Consul General of Denmark, Mr. Gropius, and vases with ashes and human bones, bronze ornaments, arms, and coins, were found. The most southern or Phaleric wall, starting from the south-western slope of the Muscion, formed a diverging radius and ran along the more elevated part of the plain, to the town of Phaleros, on the present promontory of the three towers or *Τρεῖς Πύργοι*. Some

traces of it may still be seen, but they are mere foundations. The stones, no doubt, were employed by Konon at the rebuilding of the more important parallel walls of the Peiræus. Near the ruins of Phaleros, consisting in fragments of columns, substructions, mosaics and reservoirs, the present Athenians have much frequented sea-baths. During the warm summer months the charming Queen Amelia of Greece, with her suite of court-ladies, may often be seen, on her snow-white palfrey, cantering along the old foundations to her bathing-house on the promontory.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the inhabitants from the open country of Attica were fleeing to the city with their flocks, their cattle and moveables, they for the most part found refuge in the towers of the long walls. Afterwards the whole plain between the Phaleros and Peiræus was divided among them. They then erected temporary huts and barracks and suffered the greatest distress during the terrible pestilence which decimated the population of Athens in the second year of the war.

The still stronger and more solid walls and towers enclosing the three land-locked ports, are in a better state of preservation than the long arms. The most interesting discoveries have been made, proving for instance, that the more modern square towers of Konon were built on the circular bases erected at an earlier period by Themistokles. In other parts we still behold the mines—*cuniculi*—which the Romans ran beneath the walls, in order to make them give way,—and some towers are still standing in their jutting position.

The ancient town of the Peiræus was built in the time of Themistokles by the celebrated architect, Hippodamus, from Miletos, in Asia Minor. The central part of the town, the large Hippodamean market-place, was situated on the slope between the castle of Munychia, the stadion, the theatre and the harbor of the Peiræus. A long avenue, lined with ruins of ancient houses, extends along the port to the splendid arsenal of Pheilon, where, in 1843, a curious *cippus* or column was found with the inscription: "This is the street and the limit of the emporium." The houses have beautiful mosaic pave-

ments, inlaid with black, white and variegated marble. Innumerable cisterns are cut in the rocky soil. Their opening or mouth is very narrow; but the descent easy, by steps, forming a ladder; the interior is regularly cut out into rooms, which served as stores for wine, oil, grain and other provisions.

The great Athenian *Emporium* was situated in the innermost part of the harbor, and consisted of five extensive Porticoes or *Stoæ*, in the middle of which was the *Deigma*, or exhibition hall, for the grains and provisions of the Capital, sent in from her numerous colonies and tributary allies. In these splendid halls the Athenian bankers had their tables—*τραπέζαι*—around which thousands of Greeks and foreigners from all parts of the world, were trafficking. Adjacent on the south lay the great temple of Venus, the Aphrodesion, built by Konon, in commemoration of his naval victory on the coast off Knidos.

The *only* part of the harbor of the Peiræus used as a galley-port, was the bay, called Kantharos, on the south west, where the noble-minded Lycurgos, the orator and treasurer of Athens, erected the splendid arsenal, which contained weapons, stores and material for a thousand ships. It was built by Pheilon, in the time of Demosthenes, a few years before the battle of Chæroneia. The ancients speak with wonder and admiration of its beauty and magnificence. It was destroyed by Sylla. A considerable part of its foundations, bases of columns, several triglyphs and lion heads, used as ewes, are still to be seen on the shore, where in 1835 the royal Custom-house and quarantine were built. During the excavations, some highly important inscriptions from the arsenal of Pheilon were found, containing registers of the Athenian fleet, the names of the galleys, such as, for instance, the *Syren*, the *Sea-Nymph*, the *Dolphin*, the *Swallow*, the *Hellas*, the *Swiftsailing*, and the like; then the armament of the ships, in shields, arrows, javelins, those which were completely armed and those which were not, and finally the highly interesting distribution of the galleys in the three land-locked harbors of the Munychian Peninsula. In the 112th Olympiad, or 330 B. C., the same year in which Alexander the Great built Alexandria in Egypt and fought the Persians on the Tigris, Athens possessed three

hundred and seventy-two wharfs, or ship-houses—*νεωὶ ὀρεοί*—as they are called—of which one hundred and ninety-six were situated in the largest military harbor, the Zea; eighty-two in the smaller port, the Munychia, beneath the towers of the fortress, and ninety-four in the Kantharos of the Peiræus, where a division of the fleet was posted to protect the arsenal, the traders, and the commercial establishments. This position seems admirably chosen; the galleys lying near the fortified locks of the harbor, without disturbing the commerce in the interior. And yet was the Peiræus exposed to sudden surprises, and the daring Spartans, more than once, succeeded in entering the port and cutting away the transports and merchantmen and capturing even the rich Athenian bankers themselves, with their heavy bags of glittering owls,—*γλαύκας**—before the Athenians, galloping down from the city, could arrive on the coast and cut off their retreat.

The most interesting spot in the Peiræus, is no doubt, the high steep hill of Munychia, the ancient castle or Akropolis, where so many battles were fought. We can still follow the direction of the old walls, and everywhere see fragments of Venetian balls and cannon lying scattered about.

Centuries before the fortification of the harbors, Solon, the great law-giver, ascending one day this hill and admiring its extensive view over sea and land, turned round to his friends, and said in a prophetic tone: "Oh! how blind are all of us, to the future; for if the Athenians knew all the disasters which this Mount *will* give them, they would rather swallow it!" And Solon was perfectly right—the Munychia became, during the decline of the Republic, a most dangerous stronghold in the hands of the Macedonians, nay, almost inexpugnable even to such a general as Sylla himself.

On the north-west side, lies the hollow of the theatre, of the stadium, and the ruins of several temples; there too the rock has been cut away perpendicularly and a most curious passage opened into the interior of the mount. The descent is rapid,

* The owl, the watchful bird, was, as is well known, sacred to Minerva and its image was struck, together with the helmeted portrait of the goddess on the Attic gold and silver drachms.

the stairs having been destroyed, yet one can advance nearly one hundred feet, until heaps of stones and rubbish, thrown down from above, impede the farther progress. It seemed to us, as if at that depth, the subterranean gallery continued horizontally into the bowels of the mountain.

The geographer, Strabo, mentions this curious passage, when he says in his description of this hill of Munychia, that it is hollow and has many subterranean grottoes, so large that buildings have been erected in them, but that the entrance to the caverns is very narrow. This place was, by the ancient Greeks, called the *Serangeion*, or the subterraneous Vault, where thieves and swindlers met and formed dangerous conventicles of malefactors.

Such obnoxious personages we find in every great modern city, and we may easily suppose, that, during the brilliant age of Athens, when thousands of foreigners, and scamps from every part of the Mediterranean and Pontus Euxinos, thronged her ports, such corrupt persons might have composed some gangs of thieves and counterfeiters, who found refuge in the intricate passages and dwellings beneath the Munychian hill.

We repeatedly proposed to Signor Homerides, the Demarch or Governor of the Peiræus, to order the rubbish to be cleared away from the mouth of the cavern, but the expense being considerable, by the necessity of carrying the stones up the steep ascent, the undertaking was delayed, and we left Greece without having investigated the mysteries of Munychia.

Another very interesting place is the small cove lying westward of the harbor of Zea, on the peninsula, from which we enjoy a charming view to the distant coast of Phaleron, the towering Mount Hymettus and the open sea, with the islands.

Here, just beneath the line of the ancient walls, on the rocky bank, is situated an ancient quay or mole, projecting into the sea, which there is of fathomless depth. On the rocky beach lies a small circular well, cut out of the stone, filled with a strong chalybeate water, and some few bathing tubs, sunk neatly into the rock. They were formerly filled with stones and sand, but during our residence in the Peiræus, we ordered the servant and some workmen to clean them, by throwing out the

stones and rubbish, and we presently discovered the artificial bathing tubs, which in a few minutes became filled with chalybeate water. The Greeks call this precious spring the Bitter Source—*Pikokrene*—from the strong taste of its water, having an infusion of hydrochloric, and sulphuric soda and magnesia. Every morning at sun-rise, during the months of May and June, we found crowds of Greeks, men and women, not only from the town of the Peiræus, but even from distant Athens, and the mountain villages around, gathering around this health-giving spring, and drinking plentifully of its medicinal waters, which, in connection with the delightful morning walk along the shore and the laugh and lively conversation of that spirited and jovial people, contributed to our health and strength throughout the oppressive heat of summer.

Greece possesses a vast number of such chalybeate springs, which are visited by the people for a month or two during summer. Some of these waters are hot, such as the celebrated warm springs of Thermopylæ. The Greeks there fill their pitchers after sun-set and leaving the water to cool during night in the open air, drink it in large quantities at sun-rise.

But there is a higher interest attached to the *Pikokrene* at the Peiræus, and to its antiquities. Here, on the beautiful coast, it was the custom in early times, to assemble that singular tribunal called *Phreattys*, or the Court of the Well, which was instituted to judge those unhappy men, who, by involuntary murder, had been forced to flee from their native land. What an interesting scene! Suppose the august Athenian judges seated here on these rocky benches, while the poor exile approaches in his vessel and standing on its prow, without touching the land, defends his cause in the presence of the assembly. If acquitted, he is permitted to land, and is carried in triumph to the sacred spring, purified in its waters and received with open arms by his friends and relations—but if condemned, he is obliged to pull off and to return into banishment, without having touched his native soil. Several mythical trials before the august tribunal of the *Phreattys* took place here on the rocks. Teukros, the hero of Salamis, was here acquitted of the death of Ajax, and the unhappy Orestes, son of

Agamemnon, of the unwilling murder of his guilty mother Klytemnestra.

A place of thrilling interest which is visited by every traveler, and lover of antiquity, is the western promontory of the peninsula, called Alkimos, forming the mouth of the harbor of the Peiræus. On the rocky coast, outside of the ancient wall, running along the height, stands the tomb of Themistokles, the victor of Salamis, the founder of the naval glory of Athens! No site in the world could be better chosen for the sepulchre of that hero; for here he reposes beneath the gigantic walls, the monuments of his creative genius—and in front of his tomb, beyond the blue waters, lies Salamis, the scene of his far-seeing politics and brilliant naval triumphs. Every Greek, approaching the rocky head-land, has for centuries saluted this beacon of liberty, with exultation as the sacred resting-place of the rescuer of Greece.

On the promontory itself, on the very edge of the water, you see at this day, to your astonishment, a large marble sarcophagus placed in a tomb, deeply excavated in the rock. The breakers are chafing and foaming around it; on stormy days we have often found it filled with water and bathed in it. An immense column of white marble lying near, seems to have been overturned by an earthquake. Is this then really the sepulchre of Themistokles? No body can answer that question; but our great poet, Lord Byron, believes that it is; for he says in his beautiful verses:

No breath of air to break the wave
That rolls below the Athenian's grave,
That tomb, which gleaming o'er the cliff,
First greets the homeward-veering skiff,
High o'er the land he saved in vain,
When shall such a hero live again.

* Lord Byron, though filled with love and admiration for Greece, did not, at that time of servitude and oppression, prognosticate that the venerable sepulchre of another, a modern Greek hero, so soon should arise in the presence of the old! Brave, honest Miaulis, the Admiral, one of the most *disinterested* and virtuous men of modern Hellas, now slumbers at the side of his great ancestor!

The one submerged the Mede with his terrible rostrum—the other burnt the Turk with his exploding fire-ship !

And why should we not boldly and sincerely pronounce the comparison between Themistokles, the Athenian, and Andreas Miaulis, the Hydriote, who devoted his noble and disinterested exertions for that down-trodden, despised nation, whom Lord Byron in his early visit, calls the slaves, nay, the bondsmen of other slaves, the crouching and fawning Turks, trembling at the wink of their Sultan and his Eunuchs—a nation, who so suddenly rose in arms against their powerful, implacable enemies, and by their Christian faith ; by their valor, and what is more, by their unremitting perseverance in misfortune, showed themselves worthy of forming an independent State among their Christian brethren in Europe.

So large a city as the Peiræus, receiving thousands of travelers from east and west, may be supposed to have had extensive burial grounds or cities of the dead—Nekropoleis—as the Greeks called them, and this proves true. In order to drain the plain during the spring of 1835, a number of workmen with their carts and teams were in activity on the stony hills north of the Peiræus, to remove the earth, covering the rocks and fill up the pestilential swamps of the plains—when on a sudden they came upon the ancient burial grounds, and many sepulchres were found and opened. The whole ground, though rocky, is covered with cedar, lentiscus and other shrubs. The plain rises northward toward Mount Korydallos, and the coast is precipitous. The tombs themselves are placed in rows, side by side, many cut out in the living rock and covered with slabs exactly fitting in the openings. The ancient Greeks generally buried their dead in their nekropoleis or their gardens ; often on the road leading to their towns, or before the gates. This pious feeling of affection and reverence for the dead, is a touching feature in the character of the modern Greeks.

During the excavations on the Akropolis, we were once, on a balmy morning, sitting with the architects enjoying the delightful view over the plain and the distant sea, when we were startled by a mournful song, from among the ruins. We list-

ened for a while to the melancholy dirge, and on entering the temple, we found on the base of the column a Greek lady dressed in mourning. She told us that she had come in search of the bones of her husband and son, who had perished by the same cannon ball, during the defence of the Castle in the last war, and she pointed to the place of the graves. It was on the eastern side of the platform. Our workmen began to dig and soon two skeletons made their appearance, which the widow and her servants enveloped in their veils, and carried along with them; one of the many singular scenes we have witnessed in that land of romance.

All around the platform and in the cisterns we found large heaps of human bones, or entire skeletons; nay, we were even able to distinguish the Turks from the Greeks, the former having been buried on their faces. All the relics of the Christians were collected with reverence, by the Greek workmen, and deposited in a vault, until a National Monument for the brave men who perished, can be erected on the Akropolis.

We had become so accustomed to open the tombs at the Peiræus, that we with great facility lifted up the covers; they are all filled with a fine loose earth, wherein the human remains are found, together with vases, bronze ornaments, terracottaidols, oil flasks of alabaster, colored glass-beads, and sometimes coins and weapons, such as sword-blades, belts, spear points, and brass utensils. The large collections which the architects were continually making, were, of course regularly sent to the museums at Athens.

Many tomb monuments, sculptured or painted in lively colors, are beautifully preserved. They generally represent the husband and wife taking leave of each other in the presence of weeping children, and all have the simple inscription of the names and the words, "Farewell thou beloved one."
Χαιρετε χαρε!

Here on the northern eminence, near the still existing ruins of the temple of Jupiter the Preserver, now a Christian cemetery, we found some immense sarcophagi of marble, richly ornamented, which were carried to Athens and placed before the temple of Theseus.

King Otho and his lovely Queen came often galloping to the Peiræus and ordered excavations to be undertaken by the Danish architect in the presence of their royal guests of Bavaria. Queen Amelia was then all happiness, when, on the opening of some splendid sarcophagus, marble-vases, armor or coins were found on the skeleton, indicating a man of rank; yet none of the coins were older than the year 250 B. C., from the period of the Macedonian rule in Greece. The plain immediately east of the Peiræus has been the theatre of one of the most tragical scenes of modern times, which in an extraordinary degree resembles that event which we related above, from the old historian Herodotus.

During the war of independence, in 1826, the Greeks had been victorious in Rumelia, or north-eastern Greece; but the heroic city of Missolonghi, after unheard of sufferings, fell in April, 1826, and the Turkish Seraskier, Reshid Pasha,* at the head of twenty thousand Turks and mercenary Albanians, then marched across the mountains to Athens, and though he was severely repelled in several skirmishes, he, nevertheless, succeeded in utterly destroying the city, and closely besieging the Akropolis, then bravely defended by a small, but devoted garrison.

At that time of the deepest despair and misery in Greece, two British officers, of eminent talent, Lord Cochrane and Sir Richard Church, united their exertions with those of the hardy and honest General Karaiskakis, and assembling an army of ten thousand mountaineers, they boldly resolved to advance across the hills and attempt the deliverance of Athens. A great number of European officers and young enthusiastic students, from the Universities of Germany and Denmark, had joined the Greek banners, among whom were the excellent Dr. How of Boston, and a young Dane, Mr. Frelsen, well known to the public of the United States, as Danish Consul, and as a distinguished and wealthy merchant in New Orleans. Karaiskakis, descending with his troops from Eleusis, defeated the

* Reshid Pasha, the Kutahi, is again Prime Minister in Constantinople, and the right hand man of Sultan Abdul-Meshid in the present Russo-Turkish war.

Turks in the brilliant battle near Chaidari, while Lord Cochrane with his fleet, occupied the port of the Peiræus and fortified the hill of the Munychia. Thus the two wings of the Greek army had united in a strong and excellent position, and a concentrated advance upon Athens was now to decide the fate of northern Greece.

A French squadron was then lying at anchor in the bay of Salamis, and by a singular coincidence, it happened that both the hostile commanders, the Turkish Pasha and the Greek General, at the same time arrived on board the French frigate, in order to pay a visit to the Admiral. The haughty Turk, on seeing his enemy, instantly drew his scimitar, but suddenly feeling the impropriety of his conduct on neutral ground, he frankly saluted the Greek warrior, and said: "Thou hast fought well, Karaiske, I honor thy courage. Come, return to thy allegiance and the Padishaw, the Sultan, will reward thee with rank and riches." But Karaiskakis answered with dignity: "*Affendi mou*. The Greek nation made me commander-in-chief on the mainland—the Sultan in Stambul gave thee that same command—we cannot divide it amongst us—let the sword then decide who is to be *Rumeli-Valessi* (governor of Rumelia.)" A few days after this meeting, the prudent and honest Karaiskakis fell, most unhappily, in a small skirmish near the Peiræus, while he was preparing for the general battle, which was to deliver Athens. The command now devolved on General Church, the Englishman, who entirely mistook the Greek character, and in his British vanity, supposed that he could advance, unprotected by regular troops, through the open plain with the undisciplined mountaineers, who were altogether unable to resist the terrible charges of the Turkish cavalry. Contrary, therefore, to the advice of the Greek officers, this inconsiderate movement took place on the 6th of May, 1827, a day still remembered with sorrow and tears all over Greece. The army advances boldly through the plain along the outskirts of the olive wood, and arriving at some distance from Athens, the Greeks gallantly drive in the Turkish skirmishers, and attack with shouts of victory the lines of Turkish infantry in front, while the brave French Colonel Fab-

vier, at the head of the Greek garrison in the Akropolis, makes a dashing sortie in their rear. But at this moment of decision, when victory seems to smile on the Greeks, three thousand Turkish horsemen, beautifully armed, and mounted on powerful Thessalian horses, suddenly advancing along the slope of Mount Hymettos, pass, unperceived, the right flank of the Greeks, and wheel in full gallop upon their rear. The Turks come on with such a velocity, that before the second discharge of the Greeks, their whole army is ridden down, cut to pieces, or dispersed in the wildest flight over the field. The most tremendous carnage now begins. The Christians flee towards the distant coast of Phaleros, hotly pursued by the Turkish horse and the nimble footed Albanians, who give no quarter to the fugitives. Two thousand Greeks perish beneath the yatagan in this disgraceful rout, which a single regular battalion, formed in square, might easily have averted. But it is a melancholy fact, that all the exertions of the European officers in Greece, to persuade the wild mountaineers, the klephts, to adopt the modern tactics, were in vain, and the Greeks, in spite of their many disastrous defeats, still continued to carry on their warfare in the style of old Homer.

Nearly all the Europeans, both officers and men, who remained firm on the battle-field, bravely defending their cannon, were surrounded by thousands of maddened Turks and cut down to a man. Only Lord Cochrane and General Church scampered away to the sea, and swimming across the bay of Phaleros, got safely on board the ships. The poor prisoners, six hundred in number, were brought bound and bleeding to the camp of Reshid Pasha, where they were marshalled in line and beheaded in cold blood, amidst the yells of the infuriated Moslemin. The handsome young cavalry-officer, Demitrios Kalergis, a Kretan by birth, was among the prisoners. The Pasha, learning that the youth was rich, ordered his ears to be slit off and sent to General Church, who immediately accepted this truly Turkish draught, and paying down five thousand dollars in ready money, saved the life of his adjutant.*

* This Demitrios Kalergis, active and endowed with brilliant talents, became afterwards the leader of the Constitutional party, in the revolution of

While the right wing of the Greek army was thus entirely defeated, the centre and left wing, forming a body of seven thousand foot and horse, commanded by General Kizzos Tzavellas, instead of hurrying to the rescue of their perishing vanguard, remained spell-bound, without making the least demonstration. But when the routed troops and pursuing Turkish cavalry approached, they likewise fell into disorder, and sought refuge on the hill of Munychia, in the most disgraceful flight. Here again the presence of mind of the French officers saved the camp of the Peiræus. The guns were mounted on the Munychian hill, to sweep the plain beyond, and order somewhat restored, when immediately after sunset a rushing sound was heard, and the Turkish cavalry were discovered on the out skirts of the olive-wood, forming rapidly in a crescent and with loud *Allahs*, attempting a swarm-attack against the hill. It was a magnificent sight to behold the thousands of horsemen at full career charging through the plain; but now the masked batteries opened their fire with grape and shell, and with such effect, that the dense masses wheeled around and galloped back to the woods. Thus evening closed on the dreadful scenes of the day. More than fifteen hundred Greeks and Philhellenes, the flower of the army, lay slain on the battle-field, nine pieces of cannon, numerous standards, and all the fruits of a four month's campaign, were lost. This was the most bloody and disastrous defeat which the Greeks had suffered in the whole course of the war, and the more discouraging, because it proved how little those wild bands had profitted by the unceasing exertions of the European officers and Philhellenes, in introducing a severer discipline and a more regular tactical warfare.*

September, 1843. See our article on *Modern Greece*, July No., 1854, page 460, et seqq. He was lately Prime Minister of King Otho, but was forced to resign, on account of the active part he had taken in the insurrectionary movement in Epirus and Thessaly against the Turks.

* The bones of the slain warriors, which had been secretly buried in different parts of the battle-field, by their friends, were collected in April, 1835, when a beautiful and touching funeral ceremony took place near the Peiræus, on the spot where Karaïskakis fell in the skirmish, two days before the total defeat of the Greek forces. Young King Otho in the presence of the court, army and assembled Athenians, deposited the body of the brave General in

The Peiræus was abandoned by the disheartened Greeks on the night of the 27th May, under brisk skirmishes with the Turkish van-guard, and on the next morning Reshid Pasha rode to the summit of Munychia, whence he contemplated with inward satisfaction and pride the distant sails of his departing enemies. On June 5th following, the garrison of the Akropolis surrendered, and was safely marched to the sea-coast under the protection of the French Admiral, Mons. de Rigny, and the officers of his squadron. All the Greek troops on Mount Kythæron fell back; the Greek and Albanian inhabitants of Attica abandoned the desolated country and sought refuge in the islands of Salamis and Ægina, and mount and dale presented again the melancholy sight of the ruins and devastation of the Persian war twenty-three hundred years before!

But this did not last. Prosperity returned to Greece at the close of the war in 1829. The Peiræus was rebuilt in 1834, and soon became a pretty, flourishing town, with three hundred and fifty neat dwelling houses, stores, and public buildings. The old church of the Convent of Sanct Spyridon was repaired, and although it is a very small and dark Byzantine chapel, still the Greeks throng to divine service there, in preference to the large modern church built by the Danish architect, Mr. Christian Hansen. The Roman Catholic church of Saint Paul the Apostle, erected by the Austrian government, is an elegant Gothic Cathedral, with stained glasses and a good Italian altar piece, representing the great Apostle on the sea-shore of the Peiræus, taking leave of his converts, Dionysios, the Areopagite, and Damaris, the first Christian lady of Athens, on his departure for Corinth.

On the spur of the Munychian hill, fronting the new high road to Athens, and commanding a delightful view across the harbor and the distant gulf of Salamis, stands the royal military College of the Euelpides,* and in the low isthmus between

the sepulchral monument, erected to his memory, while a large subterranean vault, or polyandron, received the earthly rests of his unfortunate companions. The greatest part of the relics have now been carried away by the antiquarian Midshipmen from the British men-of-war in the Pieræus.

* This College, the oldest and best regulated literary institution in Greece, was established by the National Convention during the war of independence

the port of the Peiræus and that of the ancient Zea, a fine row of elegant dwelling houses, in English style, built by the rich and benevolent Chiote Bankers, the Rhallys in London, now the summer residence of the foreign ambassadors in Athens.

The Peiræus possesses an excellent Hellenic College, then under the direction of Signor Patakis, with nearly one hundred students, several grammar schools, and an American Mission school for girls, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Buel and his lady, Mrs. Eliza Buel, from Providence, R. I.

and directed by the able French Colonel Bossier. It was liberally supported by Count Capodistrias, and so strict was the discipline of the cadets, and so excellent its general organization that during the violent civil war in 1832, between the Capodistrian party in Nauplion and that of the Rumeliotas under Kolettis, the military College declared and maintained its neutrality in the midst of bloodshed and devastation. Colonel Bossier had succeeded in provisioning and fortifying the College, situated in a strong position at Nauplion; with cannon mounted and the officers, professors and pupils under arms, that energetic commander kept aloof from the warring parties who brought Greece on the brink of a precipice and did not throw open the gates of his fortress in miniature until the arrival of the Royal Regency and Bavarian army in 1833. The College thus obtained the favor of the young monarch who liberally opened its ranks to the sons of the brave chiefs—*εργασι*—who had fought and conquered for the independence of Hellas. It became reorganized on a larger scale on the model of the *École polytechnique* of France, as a practical school for artillery officers, engineers, architects and geometers, while only a comparatively small number of cadets entered the ranks of the regular army. Officers and pupils wore the uniform of the staff, and the public examinations were held with sufficient pomp in the presence of the King, the functionaries of the war department and the general staff of the army. At the time we became connected with the College, it consisted of a military staff, twenty-five professors and teachers, several of whom were foreign officers, and one hundred and fifty cadets, and was situated in the island of Ægina. The sons of all the celebrated names of the time, Miaulis, Sakturis, Karaiskakis, Soutzas, Mauromichalis, Petimezas, Pepinos, Rizos, and others, received their complete education and boarding at the expense of government. Yet the destructive earthquake in 1837, having in part, destroyed the College buildings in Ægina, the College was removed to the Peiræus, where Count Armanberg had built a large palace, for the enormous sum of three hundred thousand drachms, (of which, however, he was said to have appropriated one third to his own pocket.) In the course of time, the Camarilla of the court, looking with distrust on this nursery of military spirit of the Greeks, withdrew its favor, and reduced the number of the students, though public opinion forced it to place a native warrior, Colonel Spiro Milios, at the head of the institution. Hence it happened, that in the summer of 1843, during the vacations, our College became the rendezvous of the Constitutional party, and that its young officers took so active a part in the insurrectionary scenes of the 15th September. This, however, did not produce the slightest ill-will against the foreign professors and officers attached to the College. Spiro Milios, frank and generous, protected us as long as possible, and when at last, he was forced to send us our dismissal, Prof. Toman, (the Chemist,) and myself (the Historian,) were the very last among the hundreds, who, in consequence of the revolution, were obliged to leave the royal service, in which we for ten years had enjoyed the friendship and regard of our superiors and equals.

The Peiræus is well provided with water by an aqueduct from the upper plain. A strongly built quay—*αμασια*—with projecting moles—*χιλαι*—and a fine marble pavement and parapet—*κρηπιδες*—runs all along the harbor to the royal Custom-house—*το τελωνειον*—and the quarantine—*λοιμοκαθαρτηριον*—on the south of the city, situated on the ruins of the ancient arsenal of Pheilon. Thus the former galley port of Kantharos is at present used as quarantine-harbor, where the ominous yellow flag prohibits the approach of the shipping. Brigs, felukes, and small coasting vessels—*kaïques*—lie close to the quay and discharge there their cargoes. On the height of the rocky promontory of Alkimos is placed a telegraph, and near the tomb of Themistokles on the head-land, a high beacon throws its light far away over the sea, showing the direction of the coast, while at the entrance of the Peiræus the frowning towers and chains of the ancient Athenians have yielded their place to two humble light-houses—*φαναρια*—the revolving lights of which indicate to the approaching ships, the narrow mouth of the harbor between the promontories.†

Every traveler in the East, who happens to pass the quarantine at the Peiræus, will acknowledge the polite attention of Signor Boudouris, the director of that establishment, and remember with pleasure the delightful scenery at sun-set, when in the boat of that officer, and accompanied by the old guardians with their red scul-caps and white staves, he rowed over the glassy mirror of the harbor and lost himself in wonder and admiration at the animated scenes of eastern life around, the distant music from the men-of-war, the golden light illuminating the shipping, town and hills around, while the far off Akropolis and the towering Mount Hymettos became tinged in hues of richer purple and violet than any artist can paint or poet describe.

† Ship-docks and wharfs have been established in the Peiræus, since our departure in 1844, and a number of fine vessels, brigs, and kaïques, have been built, to the great advantage of the city. In September, 1846, a brig of one hundred tons was launched under the thunder of the artillery and the joyful shouts of the enthusiastic people. King Otho, with the lovely Queen Amelia, and the court, graced with their presence a spectacle which promises a new development of activity and wealth for the city. The fine ship received of course the name AMAAIA. The Peiræus has French glass-works and several other manufactories.

High and rocky are the cliffs of the Munychian peninsula ; no forests, no luxuriant vegetation gladdens the eye. Only during winter the hills are covered with grass, shrubs and cultivated patches of wheat and barley. In spring the Munychian castle hill is feathered with the beautiful yellow *crocus* and the white *asphodilos*. A venomous shrub is the *phlomos* or hemlock. The Turks believed that its exhalations impregnated the atmosphere with pestiferous miasms, and became dangerous to the flocks of sheep and goats at that season, browsing by thousands on the hills. They, therefore, on a certain day in April, ordered out the whole Greek population of Athens and the villages of the plain, to uproot and burn the *phlomos*.

The Peiræus, without gardens and trees, presents during summer a parched landscape. Yet the serene, deep blue sky of Attica, more violet tinged than that of Pennsylvania—and the charming hues and colors it diffuses over sea and land, together with its rich historical recollections and monuments, renders it one of the most agreeable residences on the lovely shores of the Mediterranean.†

Greatly as the Peiræus has improved as the port of the neighboring Capital, yet it seems not likely that it ever will become of any importance as a *central emporium* of commerce. Syra, by its excellent situation between Malta, Constantinople, Smyrna and Alexandria, is now the emporium of Greece, and Patras and Calamæ are both rapidly rising, the former by its position at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, in the very centre of the precious currant plantations, the most profitable export of the Morea,—and the latter on the Messenian Gulf, as a general depot for the rich wine and oil productions of Messenia. The exportation of the natural produce of Attica, consisting mostly in wine, oil, honey, wax, goat-skins and salt, is insignificant, and the imports from Trieste, Malta, Leg-

† Some gardens have been laid out a mile from the town in the *Alipedon* or salt-plain. The wealthy Chiote merchants, such as Alexander Kondastavlos, Lukas Rhally, and others, have expended great sums of money in digging out the soil and leading off the brackish water. In the beginning of that arduous undertaking they almost despaired of success, but by their assiduous exertions a great amelioration of the clayey soil has already taken place, and the swamps of a thousand years, will, we earnestly hope, soon become transformed into vine-yards and fragrant orange-groves.

horn, Marseilles, and the ports of the Levant, is nearly confined to the supply of the Capital. The receipt of the custom-house duties were, in 1844, thirty thousand drachms, or five thousand dollars per month. Several captains from the Baltic and Hamburg, who, on their return from the Levant, intended to freight their ships at the Peiræus, were unable to obtain a single barrel of wine or oil, and thus found themselves brought to the necessity of ballasting their vessels with the very inferior dark and unclean salt from the royal salt works near cape Sunion.

The Peiræus was the great emporium of the ancient Republic. Its flourishing commerce began with the sudden and astonishing development of Athens during the Persian war. The Athenian democracy, with its characteristic activity and acuteness, soon combined the most careful organization of its commercial institutions with the progressive formation of its gigantic navy and its political dominion over its numerous colonies and tributary allies. The whole commercial system of Athens, her maritime laws and rights of trade—the equitable distribution of her customs, of her import and export duties, the precise definitions of her weights and measures—the solid standard of her pure Attic silver coin, and the rigorous control of her custom-house officers—distinguished her most favorably from all other Grecian Republics of that period and all of them adopted the commercial institutions of Athens. The mighty Ægina, one century earlier, the first naval power in Greece, the Ionian colonies, Samos, Miletos—even wealthy Corinth herself yielded, and sank before the rising star of Athens.

But, alas! that great political and commercial system of hers had no *sound* foundation in the *territory* and *productiveness* of Attica herself. It rested solely on naval victories—on ephemeral conquests, and was, therefore, of short duration. The Peloponnesian war, at one blow, destroyed forever the great emporium of Athenian commerce. The islands of Rhodes, and Delos, Byzantium on the Bosphorus, and afterward in the Roman Period, Patras and New Corinth, rebuilt and restored by Julius Cæsar, usurped the place of Athens in the annals of the history of commerce.

And now before we close this picture, let us dwell for a few

moments longer here on the height of the Munychian Akropolis, and let us recall to our recollections the Peiræus, its warlike, intelligent inhabitants, its fleets and its monuments, such as they presented themselves in the brightest days of the ancient democracy.

Eastward, we overlook the beautiful plain, with its sacred olive-grove, embosoming the distant city of Athens and her glittering Akropolis. Through the plain and its groves and vineyards, we discover the gigantic arms of the long walls, with their huge foundations, their solid fronts, their embattled roof and high turretted gates and the vaulted canals of the river Kephissos—and still farther East, the old Phaleric wall, like a diverging radius, descending from the city along the sloping plain toward the more distant port of Phaleros. Between the long arms, we plainly distinguish through the transparent vibrations of an Attic atmosphere, the sepulchral monuments of Euripides and Menandros, the Poets, and farther off the ruined temples, burnt by the Persians, the altars raised to the unknown god, and the soaring tumulus of the Queen of the Amazons, the fair and loving Antiope. All together forming a scenery grand, striking and picturesque! And then, what a crowd, what a press of passengers,—what a driving and riding,—what a shouting of the multitudes, hurrying up to the city and down to the ports—what a movement and life around the hundreds of stores and taverns, and the medley intercourse of Greeks and foreigners, of mariners and warriors, in their showy dresses and glittering armor.

And if we now turn westward, to the sea, then we behold spread out before us the harbors and the ships, surrounded by admirable walls and towers, with their guards and battering engines. Below at our feet we have the Dionysian theatre, the stadium, the market-place, the long circle of the porticoes, the temples of Venus, Diana and Jupiter the Preserver, the covered wharves and the highly ornamented front of the immense arsenal of Phikion.

On a morning in the middle of summer in the year 415 before our era, there is an extraordinary movement here in the Peiræus. One hundred and forty galleys and transports, with their complete armament and fluttering purple flags are

ready for departure. From Athens descends a brilliant army of brass-clad Athenians and their allies, led on by the ablest Generals of the republic, Nikias, Lamachos and the splendid young Alkibiades, who, inflamed with ambition and pride, had persuaded his vain and rapacious countrymen to send an expedition to Sicily, hoping by the conquest of Syracuse to subdue the Italian colonies, to disarm the haughty Dorian Sparta, and to extend the banner of the Athenian democracy to the distant shores of Carthage! They are accompanied, says Thukydides, the historian, in his masterly description, by a great crowd, nay, by the whole, immense population of Athens, both citizens and strangers. The former attend in order to take an affectionate leave of their departing relations and friends; the latter, to witness the splendid spectacle of the proudest fleet victorious Athens had yet sent forth. The whole crowd moved along the plain with a mixture of hope and fear, shouts of joy and tears of tender solicitude. To how great a distance from their native shores are they going to be sent! Exposed to how many dangers on sea and land! And now that the hour of departure is at hand—now that war and bloodshed soon will close around them—the *ominous* impression of terror is felt with a far keener sensation, than on that boisterous day in the Assembly, when that unjust war was decreed! Yet, when arrived here on the brow of the Peiræus, the Athenians behold their gallant fleet and the ready outfit of a prosperous enterprize, their spirits are again elated, and they dream of nothing but victory and conquest.

“And indeed,” says the ancient historian, “never did any one State of Hellas before this time, equip by its own strength, such a powerful armament. It was indeed the finest and the most glorious fleet that to this day the world had ever seen!”† These words of Thukydides, repeated two thousand two hundred and fifty years later, to American readers, at once show us the wonderful extension and progress of human society.

The equipment of the armada is magnificent, and the splendid galleys for battle are the finest ships in the ports, while a numerous fleet of transports carry six thousand heavy armed

† Thukydides *Historia* Lib. VI. Capt. 31.

Athenian citizens with their beautiful cavalry and large bodies of auxiliaries from every part of the Athenian empire. The greatest emulation prevails among the captains to have their own ships excel the rest in swiftness and splendor—while the army counting the proudest names in its ranks, presents a most glittering and well appointed array. The whole force now goes on board the fleet, and the stores, arms and baggage being completely adjusted, silence is proclaimed by the sound of trumpets. Solemn prayers for the successful expedition are then offered up to the immortal gods. The golden goblets filled with wine, run through the circle of the whole armament, and every crew, officers, and men, pour out their libations to the deities of the deep, and drink happiness and success out of their sparkling cups. The whole Athenian people fill the coast all around the Peiræus, join with the army in the public prayers, and shout their wishes of prosperity, triumph and a happy return. And now the solemn hymns, being sung by thousands of voices, and the libations being finished, the blood-red flag of Athens is hoisted as a signal, and ship after ship puts to sea. On clearing the promontories, the fleet forms in line and then with emulation and the greatest velocity pulls across the Gulf to Ægina, whence the whole armament makes all possible haste to join the great fleet of their Ionian allies, assembled at Coreyra, and carry the Athenian arms to the distant coasts of Italy.

This was the last day of happiness and glory in the ancient Peiræus. The bloody process against the wild and sacrilegious youths, the Hermakopidæ—who, in their orgies in Athens had mutilated the sacred statues of Mercury, and the exile and condemnation of Alkibiades, the most talented and reckless of the Athenians—soon followed. A Spartan army occupied the passes of the mountains and ravaged the plain. Untoward rumors arrived from Sicily. A new fleet, another brilliant army was, with the utmost exertions, sent off—and shortly afterward did the dreadful news spread over the Peiræus of the awful destruction of the whole fleet, and the slaughter or captivity of its thirty thousand warriors.

Sic transit gloria mundi!

Lancaster, Pa.

A. L. K.

ART. II.—CONYBEARE AND HOWSON'S LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M. A., late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M. A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. In two volumes, octavo. New York : Charles Scribner, 145, Nassau Street. 1854.

THE present age is producing an exegetical literature of a character in some measure peculiarly its own. Exegesis, as we find it, especially in the English theological literature of the last two hundred years, is little more than an anatomical dissection of a lifeless body. Perhaps the expression is too strong; for we are the farthest from intending any disrespect to the Divine word, and far even from denying the living power of this word upon the hearts of men under this exegesis; but we mean that in the older commentaries the inspired word is sundered too much from the living relations which it once held to men and things; these living relations were in a great measure ignored, little effort was made to trace them out and reproduce them in the mind of the reader; the text was treated as an abstract entity or fact, which had suddenly made its appearance in our world, and which could be made, according to the laws of language, to yield certain results; its specific origin, the law of its accretion, and the human elements which assisted in its production, were left almost entirely out of sight. From this it resulted that the Divine word, being dragged out of its special relations, and treated only under general relations,—which general relations can be properly understood and appreciated only in the light of the special relations—was made to bear all sorts of freightage which the piety or the prejudice of men might lay upon it. Often its most beautiful allusions and metaphors were entirely lost, and something else substituted in their place, and not unfrequently the point and pith of a doctrine were entirely missed. This habit of exegesis

is still exceedingly prevalent in the ordinary preaching of the times, much of which is not an exposition and application of Scripture at all, but a loose declamation of the preacher's own pious or heretical notions, as the case may be. A more close scrutiny, on the part of King James' translators, into the living relations to men and things which the Scriptures once held, would doubtless have saved us not a few blunders and obscurities in the authorized version.

But the biblical scholar must be glad to see that an exegetical current of a different tendency is growing stronger every day, and that it is assuming such a form as to make itself felt ultimately upon the general mass of readers. The beginnings of this tendency, it is true, are not of recent date, and a lasting debt of obligation is owing to the memory of Dr. George Campbell of Aberdeen, whose powerful and independent mind—monuments to which remain in the *Answer to Hume's Dissertation on Miracles*, and in the *Philosophy of Rhetoric*—made a vigorous effort to reproduce the Gospels in living freshness. The result is his "*Gospels and Notes*," published towards the close of the last century. But much of the strength of the modern tendency towards a correct exegesis we owe to the efforts of rationalistic infidelity. German unbelief of the present century has expended its main force in criticism upon the inspired writings. This it conducted with consummate ability. Like the giants who would fain have scaled the heavens, it has exhibited the utmost strength of limb to be attributed to mortals. And it has not been without results. It forced the evangelical mind of Germany to perceive that many of its common traditional notions, and interpretations of Scripture were untenable, and compelled it to look round for new help and better canons of exposition. It necessitated historical research, stimulated thought, and started new ideas. And consequently, as a shock upon the vital energies, though causing them to stagger for a moment, usually rouses them to healthier tone and more vigorous action, the pulsations of German evangelical life have been growing healthier and more vigorous since the tide of rationalistic infidelity has begun to retire. The effects of this re-adjustment of the Christian evidences

have been communicating themselves now for some years to English literature and theology and have given, as we think, an improved tone to much of the thinking and exposition of even our most rigidly orthodox schools. There is scarcely a leading periodical in England or America that does not bear traces of a new element, a new Christian power, derived from the soil lately trodden by the vandals of rationalism. The same is true of many of the ablest theological works of the day.

The main feature of the new type of exegesis to which we have referred, might with propriety be called *reproduction*; not of course in the strict sense, but in the sense that it endeavors to realize and bring with artistic skill before the mind of the reader the actual life of the times which produced the several parts of Scripture, the idiosyncracies of its several writers, and the circumstances, motives, occasions, purposes, results which attended the production of the several books. Thus only, it is believed, can we understand fully the mind of the Spirit. In the case of no portion of Scripture is this procedure more necessary than in that of the Epistles; for the reason that they were written for specific, well defined purposes existing in the minds of the writers, and often under the pressure of local emergencies. They were once living Letters, and only by reproducing them in their living freshness of allusion and illustration, can we understand them. By comprehending fully what the Spirit, by his inspired penman, designed to say at the time and in the circumstances, we may legitimately interpret what he designs to say to the Church at large and in all ages. To complete this exegesis, as will at once be seen, must be had a knowledge of the relations both personal and ecclesiastical, existing between the writers and those to whom they wrote; a knowledge of the life, labors and mental peculiarities of the writers, of the manners, customs and ideas of the several bodies of Christians addressed, and of the history of the planting of Christianity among them; a knowledge even of the physical geography of the country, its ancient roads, bridges, rivers, mountains, cities, and harbors, and a knowledge of the heresies, philosophies, superstitions, doctrines, prejudices,

vices and sensualities which early Christianity had to encounter and overcome. All these things give coloring to the New Testament Epistles, and must assist in securing their complete elucidation.*

Our readers will have already anticipated that much of what has been said is to have an application to the book named at the head of this article. It is one of the latest and best results of that improved method of studying the sacred writings to which we have referred, and it bears the most healthful traces of that new element of thought derived from the mighty Saxon mind of Germany, whose entrance into English literature we have already noticed. Though it is in the most comprehensive sense a life-history of the Apostle Paul, embracing everything pertaining to him that could be known, thus possessing all the interest and romance which pertains to any historic monograph, and though it luxuriates very largely in descriptions of the physical geography of the Apostle's missionary journeys, and of the cities and people in which and among which he labored, thus possessing all the freshness of the sketch-book of an oriental traveller, yet, after all, the main character of the book, and the main service which it renders, are exegetical. The life of Paul is a commentary on his writings, and there is scarcely a step of his progress as an Apostolic missionary, that does not throw light upon some passage in his Epistles. And, besides the life-history, the book contains a very careful and ingenious translation of all that Paul spoke and wrote as given in the New Testament, accompanied with explanatory and illustrative notes. It is the object of this article to employ itself principally with the life-history and labors of Paul. In a future article, providence permitting, we hope to call attention to the translation of the Epistles and Speeches.

* Of course we are not to be understood as intimating that all this is necessary for the pious uses which the ordinary unlearned reader is required to make of the Scriptures. The staple commodities of spiritual food are easily obtained without a critical exegesis of any kind; but this exegesis is necessary to those who would obtain the more delicate viands of divine truth, and discern even the richest flavor of the most substantial nutritives. Certainly, as a general rule, the highest type of spiritual life is that which is fed upon all that God gives us for our soul's health.

The work is the joint product of two pens. To Mr. Conybeare we are indebted for the translation of the Speeches and Epistles, the Introduction and Appendix, and some portion of the narrative. To Mr. Howson we owe the greater part of the narrative, all that part especially in which geographical investigation and description were required.

Concerning Mr. Conybeare we are fortunately in possession of a clue to determine his religious affinities. He is known to be the author of an article on "Church Parties," published in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1853, in which he analyzes the present condition of the Church of England, and deals heavy blows all round, upon High Church petrification on the one hand, and upon Low Church or rather unchurchly fanaticism on the other—an article which has occasioned not a little fluttering in the ecclesiastical ranks. In it he defines what he calls the Broad Church party in England, and with which he clearly identifies himself. This Broad Church party are members of the Establishment, but hold views which would very much modify it, and probably are destined to modify it in the course of time. It stands between the High and the Low Church parties, having affinities and antagonisms with both. Its watchwords are Charity and Toleration. It extends the hand of fellowship to Dissenters. It believes that the superficial differences among Christians are as nothing in comparison with their essential agreement; and it is willing that the portals of the Church should be flung as widely open as the gates of heaven. All fundamental doctrines it holds in common with High and Low Church; but it differs from its brethren in believing that these doctrines have virtually been held by all Christians in every age. It teaches with the Low Church party, that the Scripture is the only rule of faith, and it agrees with the High Church party in giving great prominence to the idea of the visible Church, but is not for restricting it to any single form of outward government. This Broad Church party enrols many admirable names. The earliest as well as the most earnest advocacy of its distinctive features belongs to Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby memory, though it dates an earlier parentage, in its seminal principles, to the great Coleridge.

It embraces now such men as Archbishop Whately, Archdeacon Hare, Trench, Maurice, Kingsley, &c. It leads the van of literature in the Church of England—its contributions to Classical Philosophy, to the Mathematical Sciences, to the Physical Sciences, to Secular History, to Ecclesiastical History, to Poetry, and even to Theology proper, being far greater than its proportional quota. To this ecclesiastical segment of the Church of England, Mr. Conybeare belongs. Of Mr. Howson we know nothing from other sources, but we infer confidently from some traces in the book before us that his affinities are the same. It is satisfactory to the reader of so important a book to be able thus to identify the churchly stand-point of its authors; as otherwise the special point of some of its passages might not be fully seen. It contains very little that is polemical, but there are occasional "croppings out" of significant hints.

Having thus disposed of certain preliminary matters which suggested themselves in connection with the volumes before us, we have reached the great theme of the work itself, viz: Paul the Apostle, or, as he first comes upon the scene, Saul of Tarsus,—a character which must appropriately be classed among those "colossal figures of history, which stamp with the impress of their personal greatness the centuries in which they lived." We cannot of course pretend to thread our way minutely through two bulky octavos;—we shall not even confine ourselves to the thread of the narrative at all, but shall endeavor to present a summary of such matters pertaining to the life and work of Paul, as we shall deem to be of special moment.

Every epoch in the world's history has its own preparation, and every "colossal figure" has a work previously made ready for it. Christianity was *the* epoch of all time, and even the work of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles had the same historic preparation which we find operative in other cases. In this respect he was "found in fashion as a man," having conformed to the foreordained laws of the world's life. Every Church historian who enters understandingly upon his task must needs devote an initial chapter to the preparation for Christianity in the previous confluent streams of history; and there is little room for diversity in the adjustment of these elements of prep-

aration. Three great varieties of national life only offer themselves as presenting special contact with Christianity. The Jew, the Greek and the Roman divide the world between them. In the suggestive language of Dr. Arnold, these were "the three peoples of God's election ; two for things temporal, and one for things eternal. Yet even in the things eternal they were allowed to minister. Greek cultivation and Roman polity prepared men for Christianity, as Mahomedanism can bear witness ; for the East, when it abandoned Greece and Rome, could only reproduce Judaism. Mahomedanism, six hundred years after Christ, proving that the Eastern man could bear nothing perfect, justifies the wisdom of God in Judaism." These three peoples stand in the closest relation both to Christianity and to the whole human race. From the Jew Christianity derived the element of *religion*, especially in the form of knowledge of the true God and his law, previously communicated by special revelation ; from the Greek it derived the elements of culture, science, art, providing for it among other things the indispensable medium of a theological language ; from the Roman it derived the elements of organization and law, and the idea of universality. To repeat the beautiful illustration of Neander, the religion of the Jew, the culture of the Greek, and the polity of the Roman were the three threads which, by the power of the Divine Spirit, were brought together in the fulness of time and interwoven in the web of Christian development. These three nations all trod the soil of Judea. They all stood round the cross. The "superscription of the accusation" of Him who hung thereon "was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin !"

These three forms of national life also meet in a singular manner in the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He was by birth a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," he was trained in the culture of the Greeks, and he was a Roman citizen. He could argue with the Pharisee on his own ground, and could boast of his birthright in the line of Abraham ; he wrote his Epistles in Greek ; and he could often succor himself in the most imminent perils, by uttering the magic words, "*Romanus sum.*" To quote our authors, "On a critical occasion of St. Paul's

life, when he was standing upon the stair between the Temple and the fortress, he first spoke to the commander of the garrison in Greek, and then turned round and addressed his countrymen in Hebrew ; while the letter of Claudius Lysias was written, and the oration of Tertullus spoken, in Latin." It is worth noting the concentrating of these three nationalities in the person of Paul, as showing the large measure in which the preparation for Christianity made itself felt in him, and his eminent fitness for operating upon the wide field thrown open to the energies and conquests of the Church.

The birth-place of Saul, under the name of Tersoos, still holds an almost metropolitan rank among the hamlets and decaying villages of the Turkish province of Karamania. But scarcely a shadow of its ancient magnificence remains. Situated near the western border of the Cilician plain, where the river Cydnus flows in a cold and rapid stream from the snows of Taurus to the sea, it was the capital of the whole province, and "no mean city" in the history of the ancient world. A deep channel two hundred feet wide was formed by the river in its passage through the city. Its harbor in which fleets used to ride at anchor, was capacious and secure. Its commerce was extensive with all parts of the East. In its streets mingled men of every nation, and its resident population was an epitome of the then civilized world. Its three preponderating elements, moreover, were Jewish, Greek and Roman. As a seat of learning it was no less renowned than as a port of trade. Strabo says that in all that pertained to philosophy and general education it was held to rival Athens and Alexandria. It was the chosen residence of several eminent luminaries of the Stoic school. A generous culture could thus be enjoyed by its youth, Jewish as well as Grecian, previous to their transfer, as was not unfrequently the case with the Jewish youth, to the schools of the law at Jerusalem.

At this ancient Tarsus, and in the midst of such influences the infancy and boyhood of Saul were spent. No reliable means are left for determining accurately the date of his birth. The probability is that it was not more than two or three years subsequent to the birth of Christ. The precise date is not important. The case is well stated by our authors :

"We have a better chronology than that which reckons by years and months. We know that he was a young man at the time of Stephen's martyrdom, and therefore we know what were the features of the period, and what the circumstances of the world, at the beginning of his eventful life. He must have been born in the later years of Herod, or the earlier of his son Archelaus. It was the strongest and most flourishing time of the reign of Augustus. The world was at peace, the pirates of the Levant were dispersed; and Cilicia was lying at rest, or in stupor, with other provinces, under the shadow of the Roman power. Many governors had ruled there since the days of Cicero. Athenodorus, the emperor's tutor had been one of them. It was about the time when Horace and Mæcenas died, with others whose names will never be forgotten; and it was about the time when Caligula was born, with others who were destined to make the world miserable. Thus is the epoch fixed in the manner in which the imagination most easily apprehends it. During this pause in the world's history St. Paul was born."

It is easy for the imagination to throw an attractive interest around the boyhood of so remarkable a character as that of Paul. It is natural for us to desire to know something of his father, and especially of his mother; for the roots of such a character are always to be traced in the paternal soil. But from these the veil may not be lifted. We know he was soon sent to Jerusalem, to enter upon the study of the law, not later probably, than his thirteenth year, according to an educational maxim of the Jews, subsequently embodied in the Mishna: "At five years of age, let children begin the Scripture; at thirteen, let them be subjects of the law." His youthful imagination was fired and his pious emotions stirred by the sight of the Holy city, and under the inspiring lead of Gamaliel, the "Beauty of the Law," his ardent mind was doubtless soon absorbed in the profundities and labyrinthine mazes of the Jewish law. Over the whole period of his student life we leave the imagination to weave its own adornments. He breaks suddenly into the Christian narrative in connection with the martyrdom of St. Stephen.

A tender and thrilling interest has always, to Christian minds, hung around the death-scene of the first Christian martyr; and not a little of this interest is derived from the brief part which the young man Saul took in it. The sacred narrative concerning this latter part, is remarkably concise, but as suggestive as it is concise; and the imagination, having as its data the known character of Paul and his subsequent confessions, may fill out a large picture. In some striking respects Stephen was the fore-runner of Paul; and there is nothing to require us to sunder, but every thing to induce us to connect, more or less intimately, the conversion of the latter and the martyrdom of the former. This point is beautifully brought out by Mr. Howson. Stephen was the fore-runner of Paul in carrying the aggressive power of Christianity into the camp of the Hellenists, or foreign Jews, of whom there were several synagogues at Jerusalem, among which was the *Cilician* synagogue, of which Paul was doubtless a prominent member, and was in all probability one of those who "disputed" with Stephen. The speech of Stephen before the Sanhedrim,* in the use of the historical argument, was also remarkably anticipative of many a discourse of Paul for the same general purpose, and must have recurred vividly to his memory as he bore the brunt of a like furious assault in many a synagogue, as for instance at Antioch in Pisidia, surrounded by Jews filled with envy, who "spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming." The precise influence of the death of Stephen, with its exhibition of holy heroism and meekness and love, upon the mind of Saul, it is of course impossible to estimate. A barbed arrow even then may have pierced his heart; and it is not irreconcilable with the laws of human experience to suppose that the subsequent havoc which he made of the Church, his furious and intolerant spirit as a persecutor, may have been the desperate effort of his unsanctified nature to shake itself of the burden of a wounded conscience. At all events the fond supposition was early cherished in the Church, and found utterance in the saying of Augustine, "*Si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Paulum non haberet.*"

* Our authors habitually spell this word Sanhedrin.

At this point the historian reaches a great crisis in the history of Christianity. Several elements of future power here present themselves in marked combination. First, the development of such a character as Stephen's under such circumstances, was a powerful testimony in behalf of the new religion, and a prophecy of its final victory. Second, it was the period of the first dispersion of the Church. Driven by the explosive force of persecution, from the centre of their local attachments, the bearers of the seed of the gospel scattered it over all parts of Judea, and into various quarters of Asia Minor. Thus the wrath of man was helping to lay deep and broad the foundations of the Church. Finally, it was the period of the conversion of Saul of Tarsus. In his person a new and great power is enlisted in the service of Christianity—a power destined to exert upon it and for it a mighty and far-reaching influence,—and hence the period of the entrance of this power into its service may justly be signalized as an epoch. The importance of the conversion of Saul can scarcely be overrated, either as an evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, or as bearing historically upon its spread and progress. Feeling this, our authors have devoted to it much attention and care. All the bearings in which it must present itself to the earnest student of the sacred narrative, are forcibly presented, and all the surroundings with which the data given impel the imagination to invest it, are vividly portrayed. Even the route of that memorable journey from Jerusalem, the centre of the young Pharisee's ardent attachment and self-righteous zeal, to the Syrian city of the north, is ascertained as accurately as possible, by tracing the principal roads of that period, and its scenery described with all the graphic freshness of an eye-witness. And Damascus itself, "the oldest city of the world," the "eye of the east," surrounded by its "wilderness of gardens," and refreshed by the murmuring streams and thousand fountains of its "golden flowing river," is made to rise before us in all the picturesqueness of its ancient and incomparable beauty. This part of the book is but a sample of what its geographical descriptions are, wherever there is the proper occasion for them. They are a perfect luxury: and so strong is Mr. Howson's

passion for this kind of investigation and writing, that he often turns aside to indulge in it, even when the understanding of the narrative would be complete without it. It is always, however, a welcome superfluity.

The authors attempt no rationalistic explanation of the circumstances attending the conversion of the persecuting zealot. They simply rehearse the narrative of Scripture.* Nothing is said about "thunder storms," or "meteorological phenomena," a style of talk which after all explains nothing, but which certain English writers, Dean Milman for instance,† are disposed to indulge after the fashion of the German rationalists. The circumstances of his conversion were such as to enable him afterwards to recognize in them his full call to the Apostleship; and the means employed for restoring him to sight and clearing before him finally the path of duty, were in accordance with that economy of visions, which attended the planting of the Church, and which had shown itself in a manner singularly parallel in the steps which led to the conversion of Cornelius.

At this point begins the narrative of the personal history and labors of Paul the Christian Apostle, which, as a narrative, occupies the greater part of the two volumes before us. For this, in its ample detail, we must refer our readers to the work itself, assuring them that after perusing it they will read the New Testament with new delight and satisfaction. His footsteps are traced as accurately as they can be in the Acts and Epistles, first into Arabia Petraea, in probable retirement; thence back to Damascus; thence, escaping a plot of assassination, to Jerusalem, where his conversion and Apostleship are recognized by the leading Apostles; thence to his native "Syria and Cilicia;" thence to Antioch, where he labors long and successfully with Barnabas; thence to Jerusalem with relief money in the time of the famine, and back to Antioch; thence with Barnabas upon his first great missionary tour, first to Seleucia, thence to Cyprus, preaching at Salamis and Paphos,

* We are gratified to remark in passing that the same mode is adopted by Dr. Schaaf, in his admirable History of the Apostolic Church.

† We cite Milman not because of his account of this particular passage of the Apostolic history, but because of a semi-rationalistic tendency which breaks out every now and then in his "History of Christianity."

where he encounters Elymas Barjesus and is instrumental in the conversion of Sergius Paulus; thence to Perga in Pamphylia, and to the table land of Asia Minor; preaching at Antioch in Pisidia, with memorable effect, at Iconium in Lycaonia, at Lystra, where he is first deified then stoned, and at Derbe, from whence he retraces his steps by way of Lystra, Iconium, Antioch in Pisidia, and Perga to Antioch (in Syria,) whence he goes up to Jerusalem to the great Council to have settled a momentous question for the interests of Christianity; thence again to Antioch and thence with Silas upon his second missionary tour first to Cilicia, where Timotheus joins them; thence to Iconium and through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, where he takes sick; thence to Troas on the *Ægean*, where Luke joins them; thence sailing from the ancient seats of Priam, he bears the gospel to Europe, preaching at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, whence he departs for Ephesus, Cesarea and Jerusalem; thence to Antioch for the last time, thence to Ephesus, where he excites against him the worshippers of Diana; thence he sails again from Troas to Macedonia, visiting Philippi and passing over Macedonia in order; thence by way of Troas, Assos, Miletus, Tyre, and Cesarea he goes up, forewarned, to Jerusalem; thence, seized by the mob at Pentecost, rescued by Lysias, conveyed to Cesarea, judged by Felix, and Festus, he is sent on appeal to Rome; this remarkable voyage is traced with all the nautical accuracy of a modern survey, and constitutes one of the most remarkable chapters of the book; arriving at Puteoli, after all the dangers of the sea, he journeys thence towards Rome, where he arrives, and where after being held in durance two years, preaching in the mean time the Gospel and writing epistles, he is tried before Nero, and *acquitted*; thence he departs to various parts of Asia Minor, and probably visits Spain; spends three or four years in missionary labor, is again arrested and brought a second time a prisoner to Rome,† where, in

† We indicate here the side which our authors take in the much disputed question of a second imprisonment at Rome. They follow in the main the suggestions of Neander, and present the theory with no little plausibility. Dr. Schaff in his History, after a very full discussion of both sides of the question, and citation of authorities, decides *against* the theory of a second imprisonment.

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the last year of Nero, A. D. 68, the curtain falls upon his earthly history, and whence his strong spirit, "ready to be offered," takes its flight to the imperishable glories of the heavenly Jerusalem.

We have thus mapped out the line of the narrative, that the reader may have a bird's eye view of what is to be gathered from the Scripture on this subject. With the intimations we have already given of Mr. Howson's peculiar talent, and with the line of this route, and its memorable names before him, the reader may easily imagine what the filling up of this narrative is like. It is a thrilling and even gorgeous panorama, with frequent pauses for pious and lofty contemplation. The eye and the memory are assisted by frequent maps; and the provinces and districts of Asia Minor, a knowledge of which is necessary to the intelligent reading of the Scriptures, accurately marked. Of course many doubtful and disputed points are met, and infallibility must not be expected; but they are usually examined and disposed of with much fairness and scholarship.

Though prevented from amplifying the details of this life history, we cannot refrain from pausing upon a few of those striking points upon which the imagination fixes itself strongly, and citing a few of those nice touches with which, artist-like, the narrator has adorned his picture.

Of the latter class, the following refers to the meeting of Paul and John at Jerusalem, during the Synod or Council, held to determine the case referred from Antioch. The incidental allusion is in Gal. 2: 9.

"One of those who gave the right hand of fellowship to St. Paul, was the "beloved disciple" of the Saviour. This is the only meeting of St. Paul and St. John recorded in Scripture. It is, moreover, the last notice which we find there of the life of St. John, until the time of the apocalyptic vision in the island of Patmos. For both these reasons the mind eagerly seizes on the incident though it is only casually mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians. Like other incidental notices contained in Scripture, it is very suggestive of religious thoughts. St. John had been silent during the discussion in the public

assembly but at the close of it he expressed his cordial union with St. Paul in the "truth of the Gospel." That union has been made visible to all ages by the juxtaposition of their Epistles in the same sacred volume. They stand together among the pillars of the Holy Temple; and the Church of God is thankful to learn how Contemplation may be united with Action, and Faith with Love, in the spiritual life." (Vol. I, pp. 219-20.)

Of the following some of its beauty, but not all, will be lost in extracting it from its place in the narrative. It is based upon Acts 20: 13, where, after Paul's long night sermon at Troas, during which the fall and restoration to life of Eutyclus occurred, we are informed that his companions sailed before to Assos, round cape Lectum, there intending to meet Paul, "minding himself to go afoot," a walk of about twenty miles.

"But the time came when St. Paul too must depart. The vessel might arrive at Assos before him; and, whatever influence he might have with the seamen, he could not count on any long delay. He hastened, therefore, through the southern gate, past the hot springs, and through the oak woods—then in full foliage—which cover all that shore with greenness and shade, across the wild water courses on the western side of Ida.† Such is the scenery which now surrounds the traveller on his way from Troas to Assos. The great difference then was, that there was a good Roman road, which made St. Paul's solitary journey both more safe and more rapid than it could have been now. We have seldom had occasion to think of the Apostle in the hours of his solitude. But such hours must have been sought and cherished by one whose whole strength was drawn

† The noting of points of contact, in locality and scenery, between the progress of the Glad Tidings with which the Christian Apostle was commissioned, and the old historic and poetic mythology of the two great "elect nations in things temporal," is one of the aesthetically pleasing features of these volumes, and it is always very handsomely done. The reader of Virgil will remember his description of an evening and of a sunrise on this coast, before and after an eventful night. The "morning star" would not rise over Ida on this afternoon journey of the Apostle, but probably it had risen, as upon the dispirited Æneas, when on a previous occasion the hopeful missionary left the harbor of Troy to "go over to Macedonia."

"Jamque jugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idas,
Ducebatque diem." Æn. II. 801.

from communion with God, and especially at a time, when, as on this present journey, he was deeply conscious of his weakness, and filled with foreboding fears. There may have been other reasons why he lingered at Troas after his companions ; but the desire for solitude was doubtless one reason among others. The discomfort of a crowded ship is unfavorable for devotion ; and prayer and meditation are necessary for maintaining the religious life even of an Apostle. The Saviour, to whose service he was devoted, had often prayed in solitude on the mountain, and crossed the brook Kedron to kneel under the olives of Gethsemane. And strength and peace were surely sought and obtained by the Apostle from the Redeemer, as he pursued his lonely road that Sunday afternoon in spring, among the oak woods and the streams of Ida." (Vol. II, pp. 208-9.)

But we must refrain quoting any more of the many artistic decorations with which the pages before us abound, and we have space to dwell upon only one of those striking points in the narrative of the Apostle's missionary labors, many of which we are reluctantly compelled to pass by. Let us contemplate the entrance of Paul into the literary metropolis of Greece,—the renowned city of Athena.

As our authors justly remark, there is no point in the annals of the first planting of Christianity, which seizes so powerfully on the imagination of those who are familiar with the history of the ancient world. When the Apostle, driven from Berea by the unbelieving Jews, took ship at some point on the eastern coast of the southern part of Macedonia, probably near the base of Mt. Olympus,—its broad summit, glittering with snow, the home of the Homeric gods—and the ship bent her course out into the waters of the Thermaic gulf, her white sail probably watched by the shepherds from the heights above the vale of Tempe, he was being carried towards the centre of all the interest of classical Greece. And as he advanced, Mt. Athos and the snowy Olympus slowly receding into the distance, all the land and water in sight became more and more eloquent ; the lights and shadows both of poetry and history are on every side ; every rock is a monument, every current is animated

with some memory of the past. And when he had passed the long island of Euboea, and rounded Sunium's high promontory, and the light craft turned her prow across the waters of the Saronic Gulph the moment must have been one of interest and excitement when the glittering summit of the Acropolis first broke upon the view, proudly rising over Athens, the "eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence." The Gospel of the Nazarene was soon to grapple with the highest "wisdom of the world." And as the educated Tarsian passed up between the "long walls" which connected by a great thoroughfare the Peiræus with the city; as he passed under the arched gateways, and through the streets, wandered over the Agora, or public square, and ascended the rocky height of the Acropolis, what a multitude of objects might be supposed to elicit his attention and claim his admiration. Magnificent piles of architecture everywhere met his eye. Under the plane trees and in the temples were statues not only of gods and goddesses, but of the heroes, the lawgivers, the deliverers of Greece, wrought by the magic chisels of Phidias and Praxiteles. There was Solon the Lawgiver, and Canon the Admiral, and Demosthenes the Orator, and Pericles the Statesman and Warrior. And how, amid such scenes and objects as these, was he affected? What invests him, as he stands here, with an enduring and thrilling interest? "His path had been among the forms of great men, and deified heroes, among the temples, the statues, the altars, of the gods of Greece. He had seen the creations of Mythology represented to the eye in every form of beauty and grandeur by the sculptor and the architect. And the one over-powering result was this,—"*His spirit was stirred within him when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.*" We have accounts of two visits to Athens by distinguished Romans, Pausanias and the orator Cicero, the one a little before, the other not long after the visit of the Apostle Paul. But how striking the contrast! Pausanias traversed those memorable places, and scrutinized everything he saw with the air of a curious and rather superstitious antiquarian. Cicero trod the accustomed haunts of Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle with the filial affection and admiration of a pupil for his teach-

ers. But the thoughts and feelings in the mind of Paul were very different from those of criticism or admiration. He felt the pressure of a mighty commission, higher far in its import than anything mythology or worldly greatness could offer. He was melted with pity for those who notwithstanding their intellectual greatness, "were wholly given to idolatry." His eye was not blinded to the reality of things by the appearance either of art or philosophy. Forms of beauty and words of human wisdom, were valueless in his judgment, and far worse than valueless, if they deified vice and made falsehood attractive. He thought of a sufferer upon Calvary, crowned with thorns, who was far more to him and to the world, than the fabled Theseus, or the wise Solon, and he stood upon Mar's hill and preached to the Athenians the unknown God and the resurrection of Christ.

"Whether we contrast the intense earnestness of the man who spoke, with the frivolous character of those who surrounded him,—or compare the certain truth and awful meaning of the Gospel he revealed, with the worthless polytheism which had made Athens a proverb in the earth,—or even think of the mere words uttered that day in the clear atmosphere on the summit of Mar's hill, in connection with the objects of art, temples, statues, and altars, which stood round on every side,—we feel that the moment was, and was intended to be, full of the most impressive teaching for every age of the world. Close to the spot where he stood was the Temple of Mars. The sanctuary of the Eumenides was immediately below him; the Parthenon of Minerva facing him above. Their presence seemed to challenge the assertion in which he declared here, that *in temples made with hands the Deity does not dwell*. In front of him, towering from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis,—as the Borromean Colossus, which at this day, with outstretched hand, gives its benediction to the low village of Arona—or as the brazen statue of the armed angel, which from the summit of the castle St. Angelo, spreads its wings over the city of Rome,—was the bronze Colossus of Minerva, armed with spear, shield and helmet, as the champion of Athens. Standing almost beneath its shade, he pronounced that the

Deity was *not to be likened* either to that, the work of Phidias, or to other forms in *gold, silver, or stone, graven by art, or man's device*, which peopled the scene before him."† Amid such surroundings the great Apostle spoke out of the fulness of his heart, and with a prudence, faithfulness and power always characteristic of himself.

And yet Athens did not receive the Gospel. This is a significant and instructive fact. Dionysius, a member of the court of Areopagus, a woman named Damaris, and some others, became converts to Christianity, but we have no evidence of the formation of a church by the Apostle, we possess no Epistle to the Athenians, and we do not read that he was ever in Athens again. When a church was at length founded there it appears to have been long in a very weak state. In the time of the Antonines, paganism was almost as flourishing there as ever. The Christian community seems at one time to have been entirely dispersed, and to have been collected again about A. D. 165. We have here an impressive commentary upon the Apostle's language to the Corinthians, "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence." Athens was the "eye of Greece," the organ of the world's clearest intellectual perception. It was the representative of the world's highest intellectuality, developed at the expense of the spiritual nature, which, unassisted by Revelation, necessarily ran into the lowest superstition. Greece, in her philosophy and art, as has already been said, was a preparation for Christianity; and in subsequent ages Christianity and civilization reaped largely from the labors of the Academy and the Lyceum. And yet when Christianity was brought into immediate contact with its own fore-runner, there was a repulsion. Worldly wisdom did not recognize Him "whose shoes' latchet it was not worthy to unloose." The two reigning schools of philosophy in Athens, when Paul

† Vol I, p. 376, partly from Wordsworth's Athens and Attica.

visited it, were those of the Stoics and the Epicureans, and in them Christianity encountered its two oldest and most deadly enemies *Pride* and *Pleasure*,—unsanctified self-will and unsubdued lust. As the Jewish nation, God's elect people in things spiritual, failed to recognise their own Messiah, so Athens, the eye of Greece, an elect people in things temporal, failed, through worldly pride and haughty wisdom, to recognise the highest truth and goodness,—and in both cases the sorrowful sentence fell, "*joined to their idols!*" True, the purest and best days of Greek philosophy were past; and the fond conceit has been cherished that had the Apostle presented himself before Socrates or Plato, and preached the "wisdom of God," it would have been immediately recognised and joyfully embraced. But so different are the highest ideals of human wisdom from the "mystery of godliness," which Paul would have proclaimed, that the supposition can only be entertained as a fond imagination. The "truth as it is in Jesus," might readily be repelled by that which was of it an "*unconscious prophecy.*"

We leave now the line of the narrative and historical to consider in a comprehensive way the *mission*, or predestinated work of St. Paul. That work was well defined and of most momentous importance. The well established truth that every historic emergency brings with it the great men which it needs, was eminently exemplified in the appearance of Paul in the emergency towards which Christianity was tending when he entered its arena. Two powerful and venomous foes threatened to entwine themselves round the infant Church in its very cradle. One of these was bastard Judaism, the other was heathen licentiousness. From the very circumstances of its birth, and, we might say, from the laws of the world's historic life, the Church must necessarily encounter a great peril, and pass a great crisis, by which it vanquished and secured itself against these two destroying foes. Two forces must operate upon it, each struggling for the mastery, the one, the centripetal, laboring to precipitate it upon the bosom of exclusive and worn out Judaism, the other, the centrifugal, threatening to dash it off, perhaps in a thousand fragments, into the wild trackless waste of oriental superstition and pagan voluptuous-

ness. The fact that she escaped both these périls is one of the greatest miracles of her history; and humanly speaking, we see not how, without the agency of the converted Tarsian, the ship of the Church could have safely passed between the devouring Scylla and the boiling Charybdis. The nucleus of every primitive congregation consisted of Jews and Jewish proselytes; and when we remember the intensely national and exclusive feeling of the Jew,—a feeling most necessary for the accomplishment of the predestined results in their previous history—it is not difficult to conceive the intensity of the struggle by which this integument of ages was broken, and the germ of Christianity made to expand its boughs over the whole earth; and the strength of the arm by which “the middle wall of partition” was broken down, and the Church, instead of being subordinated to the Synagogue, made to throw wide its portals to all the sin-weary sons of Adam. And on the other hand, when we remember the fearful power of Gnosticism in the succeeding centuries, and the almost ungovernable centrifugal tendency of Christianity at two or three points in her history, indicated by the numerous fragments thrown off into the chaotic region of Oriental theosophy, and all this with the powerful and ever-energizing influence of the great Apostle of the Gentiles beating in her bosom, we gain a tolerably adequate conception of the perilous crisis through which the Church passed in the latter part of the Apostolic age, and the indispensable necessity there was for a work like that which St. Paul accomplished.

As before intimated, he was by birth, education, and citizenship admirably fitted to act as a mediator between the two hostile forces; and he had by special revelation from Christ, grounding itself doubtless upon the natural basis of his education and the cast of his mind, that spiritual instruction which so eminently fitted him to stand both before Jew and Greek as an interpreter of what Christianity, as left to the world by its divine Founder, was, and was intended to be and to do. Until St. Paul appeared before the Church in his true character as the Apostle of the uncircumcision, few understood that “the law of commandments contained in ordinances,” had been

abolished by the cross of Christ ; and that the "other sheep," not of the Jewish fold, should be freely admitted into the "one fold," by the "One Shepherd." And perhaps many may have been perplexed by the words and conduct of our Lord himself; for had He not said that He was not sent, "save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and that it was "not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs?" The other Apostles understood the injunction to "begin at Jerusalem;" to Paul it belonged to inaugurate the Church into her great missionary work, as the teacher of all nations,—a conception so sublime that in that age it could scarcely have found its primary entrance into a mind not specially prepared† to receive it.

The first marked collision between Paul, as the representative and expounder of the freedom and universality of the Gospel, and the enemy which beset it on the side of Judaism, occurred at Antioch. Soon after the return of Paul and Barnabas from their first great missionary tour,—a tour concerning which, no doubt, vague rumors had reached the ears of certain of the Jewish brethren at Jerusalem, rumors of such proceedings, for instance, as those at Antioch in Pisidia, where Paul with heroic boldness, and a noble contempt for the shackles of bigotry, declared to his Jewish brethren, "It was necessary that the Word of God should first have been spoken to you ; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles,"—some of the "false brethren," as Paul calls the Judaizers, went down from Judea to Antioch. They came not as open antagonists but as "spies" creeping in "unawares," that they might ascertain how far the Jewish Law had been relaxed by the Christians at Antioch, under the teaching of Paul, and the truth of the rumors concerning the general tenor of his teaching. Their purpose was to bring the whole Church, if possible, under the "bondage" of the Jewish yoke. They not only commended their Jewish brethren for preferring to continue the ancient rite of their

† Peter also, the "Apostle of the circumcision," had this special preparation, in the matter of Cornelius, and was thus prepared to second the more positive and aggressive efforts of Paul.

fathers, but they alarmed the Gentile converts by teaching that circumcision was *necessary to salvation*. The doctrine thus stated, revealing the insidious but fatal foe of the Gospel, found in Paul a formidable and uncompromising antagonist. He could go to the extreme verge of charitable concession, where the question was one of peace and mutual understanding, but when the very foundations of Christianity were being undermined, when the very continuance of the "truth of the Gospel" was in jeopardy, he could "give place by subjection, no, not for an hour."

After "no small discussion and disputation," between Paul and Barnabas and their Judaizing opponents, it was determined that the case should be referred to a Council of the "Apostles and elders" at Jerusalem. Before this Council the issue between Paul and the "false brethren" was fairly made. They confronted each other in open debate, and the occasion is one of vast significance in the history of the Church. Two antagonistic principles are each striving for the mastery, and the decision is to be given by a judicatory, composed entirely of Jews. The result was the triumph of Paul and his principles, which was at the same time the triumph of the vital principle of Christianity, as a religion for man, over opposing influences which would crush down its free-born spirit within the petrified integument of a local economy. Paul was thus actively and powerfully instrumental in bringing the first important announcement of Church *authority* to clear and distinct utterance. It was an utterance made to coming ages. Backed by its strong sanction the fearless Apostle of the Gentiles went forth with renewed energy upon his great work, and combatted with great advantage, and with ultimate success the perilous tendency which thus met its first great discomfiture. From this time it gradually sank, though not without fierce struggles, into the whirlpool of heresy. Furthermore, that Council contained in it the germ of the truest and best ecclesiasticism for any age. It seems to have combined in itself in admirable proportions the principles of authority and freedom, of autocracy and democracy, of concentrated power and popular co-operation. Its utterance was thus the utterance of the Church,

given forth from her own deepest bosom, and gave signal that under the illumination of her Divine head, she saw the path of destiny before her.

The most noted collision between Paul, as the vindicator of the *purity* and *moral healthfulness* of the Gospel, and the enemy which endangered it on the side of a licentious heathenism, occurred in the Church at Corinth. No more likely field could be found for such a collision. Corinth was the most magnificent and the most voluptuous city in the history of Greece. Venus was her tutelar deity, and courtesans were her priestesses. In the common language of the Apostle's time, "to Corinthanize" meant to play the wanton. There in the representative centre of the world's luxury and the world's lust, Christianity must vindicate itself as a system of pure morals, and resent the contamination of earthly defilement. This too would require a severe and critical ordeal, and in bringing the Church through it, the agency of Paul, though not so marked as in the deliverance from the other danger, was still prominent and effectual.

Christianity had not long found a lodgment at Corinth, until some of its professed trophies yielded to that licentious tendency, which constituted the most vulnerable point of Corinthian morals, and they brought to their aid a characteristic philosophy which threw a specious and palliating garb over the foulness of their sins. To meet this new emergency St. Paul was prompt and decided. By his three letters† and the force of his personal presence he succeeded in crushing the evil in the bud; although at other times and in other periods it frequently reappeared in the history of the Church; but always under increasing disadvantage. He rectified the moral sense of the entire Corinthian Church, which was rapidly becoming vitiated by the foul leaven, and begat in them a godly sorrow, a clearing of themselves, an indignation, a fear, a vehement desire, a zeal, a revenge, (2 Cor. 7 : 11,) which testify strikingly to the power of Christianity when brought to bear fairly upon the

† Our authors show pretty conclusively that *three* epistles must have been written to the Corinthians, one (which has been lost) most probably prior to the two which we have.

human conscience. His "staying of the plague," in its incipient stages, sent a stream of healthful influence down through the coming ages; and in all the Church's contests with the same enemy under various forms, "he being dead yet spake."

Such, in its two main phases, was the ordained work of Paul the Apostle, and nobly did he fulfil it. Of course incidental to these two main lines of effort, his powerful and logical mind has accomplished much for the Church in various departments. He is the great pioneer of Systematic Theology. He has ever been the leader of that branch of "the sacramental host of God's elect," which takes the Divine sovereignty as its starting point in expounding the scheme of Redemption; and it is undeniable that this branch has always carried with it the main current of the Church's life. And whenever the slumbering life of the Church has roused itself to burst off the shackles of a Pharisaic formalism, Paul has always furnished the watchwords of hope and of victory. To quote the words of our authors, after dwelling touchingly upon his death: "Thus died the Apostle, the Prophet, and the Martyr; bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his Apostolic labors; leaving his Prophetic words to be the living oracles, pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the Apostles, among the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, among the holy army of Martyrs, his name has stood prominent. And wheresoever the holy Church, throughout all the world, doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus, is named as the great teacher of a universal redemption and a catholic religion,—the herald of glad tidings to all mankind."

It only remains, in conclusion, briefly to note a few points of doctrine, of some importance, presented in the volumes before us. It is not the professed office of the historian to propound and advocate certain forms of doctrine; nevertheless in reproducing the historic life of the Apostolic age in any of its prominent features, it is impossible to avoid the presentation, directly or impliedly, of the writer's views of certain matters belonging to the development of that life. From what we have intimated in the former part of this article, respecting the ec-

clesiastical stand-point of the authors, the general *animus* of the book, particularly in its churchly bearings, may readily be anticipated. We propose to touch but upon a few salient points.

In regard to the constitution and functions of the primitive Church our authors are very far from being *High Church*, in the strict sense of the term; and we should think they would come far short, (as we learn they have) of pleasing that party in the Anglican Church, which thinks that prelacy as it there exists, is the only true and divinely appointed constitution of the Church of Christ. In the age, and the language of Paul, they find the terms *episcopos* and *presbuteros* entirely equivalent, the former designating the *duties*, the latter the *rank* of the same officer. The Apostolic office they find to be strictly extraordinary and temporary,—having no “succession” in any strict sense of the term. The hiatus which exists between the Apostolic age and that which followed it, is described in very suggestive terms. “The wall of separation was built by the hand of God. That age of miracles was not to be revealed to us as passing by any gradual transition into the common life of the Church; it was intentionally isolated from all succeeding time, that we might learn to appreciate more fully its extraordinary character, and see by the sharpness of the abruptest contrast, the difference between the human and the divine.” The only orders which they find of permanent significance in the Church, are Presbyters and Deacons. After the withdrawal of Apostolic labor from any particular Church, the bench of presbyters elected one of their number to preside over them, who was still only *primus inter pares*, and only officially, and in a very diluted sense, a successor of the Apostles. Out of this subsequently grew a wider form of episcopacy. They find the primitive *ordination* to have been strictly presbyterian,—being conferred by the “College of Presbyters” in conjunction with their president, whether that president were an Apostle or one of their own number. Thus was Timothy ordained.

The *supernatural gifts* of the Apostolic age, like the Apostolate itself, they suppose to have been extraordinary and temporary, seeming “to have vanished with the disappearance of

the Apostles themselves." Respecting the *gift of tongues*, three things are propounded: *first*, that it was not a *knowledge* of foreign languages, as is often supposed: *secondly*, that it was the result of a sudden influx of supernatural inspiration which came upon the new believer immediately after his baptism, and recurred afterwards at uncertain intervals: *thirdly*, that while under its influence the exercise of the *understanding* was suspended, while the spirit was rapt into a state of ecstasy by the immediate communication of the Spirit of God. In this ecstatic trance the believer was constrained by an irresistible power to pour forth his feelings of thanksgiving and rapture in words; yet the words which issued from his mouth were not his own; he was even usually ignorant of their meaning; they were the words of some foreign language, and not intelligible to the bystanders, unless some of these chanced to be natives of the country where the language was spoken.† The gift of *miracles* was not always at hand to the Apostles, or to others at their option. An influx of supernatural power was given to them, at the time, and according to the circumstances that required it. And the character of the miracles was not always the same. They were accommodated to the peculiar forms of sin, superstition, and ignorance they were required to oppose.

Upon the difficult subject of *demoniacal possession*, the writers do not enter at length; but they strongly reiterate the view which has already been strikingly presented by Trench, that in the demoniacs of the New Testament, allusion is really made to personal spirits who exercised power for evil purposes on the human will. The unregenerate world is represented to us in Scripture as a realm of darkness, in which the invisible agents of wickedness are permitted to hold sway under conditions and limitations which we are not able to define. In the time of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles, the "works of the devil" were peculiarly manifest. The whole period was the hour and power of darkness; of a darkness which then, imme-

† The readers of Dr. Schaff's work will be struck with the coincidence of view in several main points. We have not yet seen a charge of "unsoundness" brought against our authors on this score.

diately before the dawn of a new day, was the thickest. It was exactly the crisis for such soul-maladies as these, in which the spiritual and the bodily should be thus strangely inter-linked; and it is nothing wonderful that they should have abounded at the time.†

But we are forbidden by our limits to go further in this recapitulation of the *credenda* thrown out or suggested by the work in hand. Our readers will perceive from some of them that it can be read without mortal offence by a member of almost any "non-episcopal" branch of the "broad" Church of Christ.

We take leave of these volumes, for the present, with the profound conviction that they will be fruitful of good to many minds. They will stimulate the dull, enlarge the contracted, and confirm the wavering. To any candid mind which gives to the life, inward and outward, of St. Paul, a thorough study, such as will be secured by a careful perusal of this work, the theory will appear exceedingly unreasonable which assigns to Christianity a mythical origin. And equally unreasonable will it appear that such a life could have been the product of imposture, or blind enthusiasm. And strikingly will it be forced home upon the mind that the doctrine which Paul preached was a new life to the world. To all would we heartily commend it, who are in any danger of being led away by the inane tendency referred to in the following eloquent paragraph.

"There are some amongst us now who think that the doctrine which Paul preached was a retrograde movement in the course of humanity; there are others who, with greater plausibility, acknowledge that it was useful in its season, but tell us that it is now worn out and obsolete. The former are far more consistent than the latter; for both schools of infidelity agree in virtually advising us to return to that effete philosophy which has been already tried and found wanting, when Christianity was winning the first triumphs of its immortal youth. This might well surprise us, did we not know that the progress of human reason in the paths of ethical discovery is merely the

† Trench, in his work on the Miracles.

progress of a man in a tread-mill, doomed forever to retrace his own steps. Had it been otherwise, we might have hoped that mankind could not again be duped by an old and useless remedy, which was compounded and re-compounded in every possible shape and combination, two thousand years ago, and at last utterly rejected by a nauseated world. Yet for this antiquated anodyne, disguised under a new label, many are once more bartering the only true medicine that can heal the diseases of the soul."

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J. C.

ART. III.—UNENDED CONTROVERSY.

LOGIC reduced to practice often begets extremes. The laws of life frequently form at least apparent exceptions to the laws of logic. The rigidly mathematical, the formal, and the mechanical are not always one and the same with the living operations of an organism, conditioned at every turn by the vital force, gushing warmly, spontaneously and freely in an active individuality, which manifests itself under a proper form of self-determination. Disregarding this important, though patent fact, or leaving out of view this well known and fundamental distinction, which holds between Life and Logic, begets the multitudinous phases of one-sidedness in real practice, and all the disproportionate forms of history, that now fill the wide range of human vision, and seem to mar the symmetrical whole of ideal speculation. The point of contact and harmonious union, where these two correlative factors come together, where the two forces come into equilibrium, is so indefinitely small, in comparison with those which do not impinge legitimately, that it need call forth no surprise, if practically we do not often bring these two sets of laws together at the right place. When

they do touch each other at all, as they are often found doing, to our mind, at least, the relation is for the most part abnormal. Hence the many mistakes when we would undertake to interpret life-facts by logic-laws only.

Human imperfections must of course be excused, when we consider that the right relation of these two factors, as form and contents, is found to hold in an infinite ratio: as one to infinity. How many are the chances against any human and finite solution, may thus be approximately estimated when it is considered: that mathematics or logic is rigid, formal and fixed in the category of its laws; while life, though holding a relation to these laws also, but only at one point in contact with them, is ever varying in the evolution of its contents. It is at no two points in the same formula, nor at any one corresponding point in two separate formulas, in all respects alike; though it be nevertheless the same life and under the same general laws. So we find no two men absolutely alike; the similarity may approach to likeness, but it never becomes identical.

Greater mistake, therefore, could not well be made, than that which men are prone continually to make in this very way, namely, attempting to solve the complicated problems of life by the fixed rules of logic or the laws of mathematics. These are all important in their own proper sphere; but they must not bind down free life to their dead formulas. Earnest minded men are the most liable to commit this blunder. Those, to whose consciousness, the profound mysteries that reveal themselves in history, the unsolved problems involved in intricate propositions, and the grand universal riddle of the world's life have presented themselves and challenged respectful consideration, may be so at fault in the application of logic alone, as to be driven to an attempt at opening the Gordian knot in some violent and unnatural way. Few, however, we apprehend, of those, on the other hand, in whose minds all these things are but "trifles light as air," will be likely to conform so strictly to the forms of law as to do violence to the multiform exceptions required to be made at every turn in favor of life-facts. To minds of such habitual thoughtlessness, the danger is in the

opposite direction ; and hence every single example is allowed to be that exception to the general law in so wide a latitude, until the hap-hazard form of life in the world's history and in themselves comes with them to mean the normal mode of existence. Rightly considered, both these classes occupy equally dangerous extremes.

Here then we find a broad ground for the practical conflicts between Politics and Religion. As co-ordinates in the same system, practice has not combined here properly, proportionate to the wants of the case, life and logic. Those, who are too logical for practical life, involve themselves in all the unpleasantness of their hide-bound position; and they are, therefore, almost continually toiling in tribulation to free themselves and their nicely framed theories from the inevitable contradictions to be met with at every practical turn. Theory and practice are not always the same, and because experience teaches us so, they should not be expected to coincide with invariable certainty. What may look well enough as an ideal form, the product of theoretic law, may be found to work well, or even not to work at all, when realized in practical life. Machinery working well in small models, we know, is often found to miserably deceive the inventor's hopes when he comes to project it extensively in practice. This has been, time and again, the experience of those who have theorized in Philosophy and Science too, as well as those who have projected model systems of Politics and Religion. Any theory that is made up of fixed quantities entirely, to the exclusion of the self-adjusting law of organic life, must always remain, for all practical purposes, a sheer abstraction. It never merges into the concrete reality.

Equally at fault, however, are those also, who stand in the extreme utilitarian school, and make every life-fact differing from any one law, an exception. No higher law than mere individual and personal adjustment will effectually destroy morality in its higher sense, and thus make all life an unmeaning jumble, without co-ordinates to determine its formulas and still less its organic freedom. The true idea of history is thus lost ; the present becomes a trackless and bewildering maze, and the future shadows forth only darkness and gloom. For

our own part, we confess, we would rather make or allow to be made a hundred thousand exceptions required by finite minds, to the laws of logic, in order to accept the true principle of life; than to find ourselves continually at fault and unable to reconcile the producing power of life with those laws rigid in that exception.

Principles like these, we conceive, are absolutely necessary, if we would rightly adjust and reconcile the conflicting claims arrayed on opposite sides of any great and truly philosophic controversy. Eclectic systems may, therefore, in a proper form be the truest philosophy for practical purposes; but on this very account they are the more exposed to the dangers of embodying error in its subtlest forms. Because it is so difficult to combine in due proportion, the simple elementary truths into a complete whole, corresponding with the vital force of the organic law in life, is no reason certainly why this means of reading the truth should be undervalued. In all such controversies, as that for instance, which has divided the Christian world on the Doctrines of Divine Decrees and Free Grace, which are plainly taught in the Bible, this principle offers itself as the one best able to reconcile the apparent contradictions. Then, that other problem in Moral Philosophy, which demands a solution of the right relation between Authority and Human Freedom, can be more satisfactorily harmonized too in this way, than by any other. The right relation, holding in the controversy of Politics with Religion and Religion with Politics, we apprehend, if ever settled, must be found in this free and living principle rather than in either dead extreme of expressed formulas.

This controversy, ending in the one extreme, lands us in the most absolute despotism of the ultra-montane party; or, in the other, ends in the arbitrary licentiousness of self-use and universal exception. It comes thus to a practical issue as an important feature of the great Church question, which is calling for a more satisfactory settlement in our times. The parties, in the main may be said to be divided by the line separating between Romanism and Protestantism. We have not chosen this division from mere fancy. Both parties seem well satisfi-

ed with the sides they have reciprocally appropriated to each other. Politics and Religion, and Religion and Politics is not a mere saw.

The controversy presents itself under several aspects, according to the stand-point from which it is contemplated, or the relative proportion in which the several factors are combined. In order to treat it impartially, as far as we know, we propose, therefore, to present these separately, for consideration.

I. Antagonism is the most obvious form in which this relation reveals itself. No argument is needed to evince the plain fact, that war actually has existed and does yet rage between legality and morality, as well as in a higher sphere, between Politics and Religion. All History reveals it more or less. The Christian era especially, has witnessed the fiercest fights, and steadily have these been kept up till our day. The only times apparently, when there has been momentary cessations in the stubborn strife, were when the one or the other so preponderated, as, like an oscillating beam, to assume a somewhat vertical position. Under the heathen Emperors, the Church was subject to the State. Not, however, from the start, as it would seem, without a most determined protest.† The inherent rights of the spiritual order were stubbornly defended; at first only negatively or in the way of self-defence, and petition for toleration. Afterwards, not satisfied with this alone, it grew bolder as it grew stronger; until it became the assaulting party, and the strong pillars of Roman power gave way before the mightier tide that overflowed the seven hilled throne and the Emperor saved himself, by yielding to the subduing power and becoming the champion of the cross. The Religious element now formally swallowed up the Political.

In the continuation of the controversy, which did not end at any time that one element seemed to become master of the other, the Religious began more and more to exhibit externally the effects of having absorbed into itself the Political, by revealing much of this last in its life. Whatever may be thought

† The Apologists were the first Protestants, if the Romanist stoutly continues to force that definition of the term upon us.

or said of this fact by the different parties, the fact itself must at least be admitted. Whether by a historical necessity or not, the Church was required to assume and maintain through all the Mediæval period the mastery of the State, the contest at all events was not given up, and the fight of a thousand years has not killed either party. It is not assumed here, that all Church government, though necessarily requiring a polity, is on any account only political. We can conceive of the Church in her own appropriate sphere, as we shall hereafter show, maintaining a polity, in form and contents purely Religious, which would have been abundantly competent for its own native purposes.

Great stress has been wont to be laid, by sections of both main parties throughout this whole controversy, on the form of this polity as exhibited in Church government. Papal, Episcopal, and Presbyterian, each alike has its sticklers, who religiously (?) maintain the divine appointment of their own form. To establish this, recourse is had for aid to Politics; thus we are pointed to the Republican, as holding in the times of the Apostles and their immediate successors, then follows the fuller grown Aristocracy of the Episcopal order, and finally it develops a gigantic Monarchy in the Papal hierarchy. It would be foreign to our purpose to follow out these historically; and we shall, therefore, leave them for the present, with the bare mention of them, hoping they may readily suggest important thought bearing on this part of the subject.

Various causes have been assigned, in accounting for the sharp conflict between these two interests. All may be summed up in the one clashing din of strife engendered always when the ecclesiastical attempts to usurp dominion over the civil power, or when Politics encroaches on the domains of Religion. *Hinc illa bella.* An example of this is found particularly in the contests between the Popes and the German Emperors. So also the Church and the State policy of England, and more especially the efforts to introduce the same into Scotland and the determined, successful, though long continued resistance, all afford the clearest evidence on this point. As it is thus apparent that this has been general ground for mutual complaint in past times, so it will also appear that at the present

stage of history it is no less potent as a cause in creating the jarring between the Political and Religious departments of life. As the Papacy in redeeming the world from barbarism and bringing in a more glorious civilization than was known before, encroached too much upon the civil rights of mankind ; so the States-system of Europe, in breaking the bonds of hierarchical tyranny, begetting civil and religious liberty, has transgressed its own proper boundaries. If one department violates reciprocal laws and falls into one extreme position, it only elicits a corresponding extreme in the other. Any excuse for the one, only gives the other the benefit of the same apology. Law and Gospel, Church and State, Politics and Religion are equally of divine authority. In form, they may be in their own several departments, of purely one or the other of the primitive forms indicated above, or they may be variously combined.

Which then shall predominate ? In the stages and cycles of history, various practical answers have been given to the question. The ancient heathen nations, almost universally allowed the religious to rule the political interest. In some of their systems they were so grossly jumbled together, that no attempt was made to reconcile the different interests ; or if there was, it was always violently done, without settling any fundamental principle. Priestly castes generally held superior power, and the warrior and other castes seldom called this state of things into question. For proof of this we need only refer to ancient Egypt, Babylon and other nations of antiquity. The heathen nations were comparatively satisfied with this, because they knew not what liberty was. He only is a freeman, whom the truth makes free, and as they had not the truth upon which to base their systems, no other state of things could be expected.

Governments failed and fell into hopeless decay and ruin, in the hands of the ancient heathen, not so much because they were based on false political principles, as on account of the fact that they were hostile to the only true system of religion, or were at least ignorant of its salt savoring power. Opposed to the true, they yet cherished the false, as a useful subordinate means, in the hands of the knowing few, of upholding the

tottering fabric of order and society.* With this kind of religion their politics willingly combined, because it was a vanquished rival, a vision fast vanishing from the sight. The philosophy of the learned had discovered the untruths and weaknesses of this, and hence they tolerated its form, whilst its unreal contents troubled not the spirit of their politics. The truce here, as well as elsewhere, was only obtained at the sacrifice of one of the contesting elements in its own legitimate sphere of relative independence. So in the old Roman Empire, before the eruption of the barbarians, that finally overthrew it—so too, in the middle ages, where the Emperor and the Pope alternately triumphed, and so it is now in every case where one or the other of these elements preponderates, as exhibited in our own country or abroad. Ultra-montanism and the Gallican party have not yet sheathed swords; and though the modern triumphs of the one have comparatively silenced the other, yet a whim of the French monarch, so recently lauded to the skies for his favors at first shown to the Jesuits, and then as suddenly dropped and abused when he acts otherwise, may light again the fires of strife and call out the slumbering force of opposition. England is now vexed with the Politico-Religious questions: for this too Russia pretends to fight; and the Jesuits are check-mated in America by the counter movements of the Know Nothing party.

This last effort at settling the difficulties of the case, by mixing up in a still more complicated way the two elements in

* "The foundations of religion and morality were everywhere undermined. Even the great historian Polybius, looked upon the popular religion as a mere bugbear, a political institution to serve the purposes of the statesmen, to keep the masses in check; and the geographer, Strabo, in the time of Caesar Augustus, regarded superstition, myths, and marvellous legends as the only means of infusing piety and virtue into women and common people." Lucian, we are told, "fell with biting sarcasm upon the popular religion, as a jumble of absurd stories."

What was thus true of the Greeks, was also substantially the same, in regard to the Romans: "The rulers indeed still clung outwardly to religion; for it was the foundation of the whole civil edifice. But they regarded it merely as a political institution, a means of restraining the ignorant masses by superstitious fear." Hist. Ap. Ch.

The piety of Cicero and the skepticism of Horace amounted after all to nearly the same thing. The one was ever ready for popular effect sake, to call upon the *Dii immortales*, and the other could say: *Credat Judæus Appella, non Ego*, with reference to popular stories of the same gods. The infidelity that begets superstition was everywhere amazingly rife.

controversy, is only an additional evidence that the war has not ceased. Short-sighted individuals may hail it as something promising in the auspices of our country ; but if they are not too old already, they may live to see the day when their opinions will be cast over another mould. This half-fledged humbug may boast of its principles as eminently American, by which is meant true and free ; but with all due deference to the momentary excitement, amounting to almost a furor, in what seems to be a majority of our fellow-citizens, a dispassionate examination will prove it more of a falsehood and counterfeit than many to many at first sight appear. It must assume another shape than any in which it has appeared, if it is to accomplish finally a permanent good. The true part of its principle must be eliminated from the false rubbish with which it has hitherto been mixed up. The suggestion may be made, whether there cannot be as little genuine Republicanism, with respect both to the religious and the political sense, in such extreme selfish American doctrine, as we understand that of Know Nothingism to be, as in that other false Politico-Religious policy of the Roman Catholic Jesuit Bishop, who seizes all church property in his diocese and holds it in fief to the See of Rome.

The attempts of Roman Jesuits, who seem to be constitutionally fond of dabbling in politics, by mingling their religious life with political intrigues in whatever country they may be found, whether they have snake-like wormed their way into the body politic, or have been openly recognized, in any case, we say, their attempts are not worse in principle than the counter movements of the Know Nothings. The best attempted defense of the order we ever heard would suit the one as well as the other. If the one be dangerous to civil and religious liberty, it is very hard for us to see why the other must not be also. The mode of operations, with strongly organized secret power, may be as detrimental in the hands of Ned Buntline of New York, or some other demagogue of as little respectability and moral guarantee, at whose beck the rank and file must obediently move by virtue of their "great oath," as in those of the general-in-chief of the Jesuits of Rome. If one set of politico-religious

intriguers is wrong, and acknowledgedly a moral, religious and political evil, how shall the matter be made better by creating another set acting on the same false principle, however good may be their intention? Men of true hearts may not always be in the order, to keep its practice better than its principle. It is a doubtful principle to become a thief to catch a thief. We remember once of a politician, who made high pretensions to temperance, justifying himself in buying votes on the election day at the rate of three cent drinks of whiskey apiece, saying that it was necessary to fight the devil with fire, and as the opposition party did the same, he must do it, or fall behind.

Morally, it is always better to allow the false principles of a party to triumph for a while if it must be, rather than resort to any wrong means to uphold the truth. This we conceive to be the proper course in the present case; for truth is mighty and must prevail; hence it can well afford to see false principles enjoying a short-lived triumph. We do not propose to enter into an extended argument on this particular point. It was only introduced as bearing directly on the main controversy with which we are now concerned. To double the wrong, we conceive, will not help to reach the right, except that negatively it may show what is really wanted. Mountebanks and empirics make but poor figures, when the world needs a truly historical personage. The antagonism, therefore, of these two factors in the controversy before us, is to be harmonized in a real living way, by the self-adjusting power of a living organism of an historical vitality.

II. The second form in which the controversy presents itself, is the aspect of independency, or violent separation of the two main factors. Politics acting in this one-sided way in attempting to find the true sphere of its operations, runs at this point into the open arms of infidelity. Religion, seeking to be equally independent in the sense of absolutely separate, so as to make no account of the other at all, falls into a gross error and forgets that it is its province to sanctify all departments of life.

Life in all its departments is from God, and is, therefore, equally divine with the principles of eternal law. Where these conflict, it is not the only or best solution always to divorce

them, and let each set up an independent sphere for itself. In their right relation they admit of a free and perfect reconciliation. God can bring the one into glorious harmony with the other, as has been revealed in history where conflicts long kept up seemed to declare the impossibility of a fair and real settlement. Where we cannot see the exact point of reconciliation, it is for us to receive it on faith; for as we are short-sighted, our vision may not be as complete as his who seeth the end from the beginning. Could our finite and fallible minds see absolutely right, thus comprehending fully the infinite combinations which these laws of life make with each other in their different spheres, civilly and religiously, brought into different degrees of activity, producing the varied modifications in actual practice, as developed in history,—could we at once see all this, we say, we might be saved from many puzzling efforts at reconciling apparent contradictions in the extremes of logic combining with the self-adjusting life of harmony.

No real settlement is, therefore, effected, when the parties in contest, partially worn out by their stubborn efforts, draw off with a mutual declaration of independence. Some are disposed to think this a most glorious achievement. Especially in our country is this thought the most happy way of opening the Gordian knot. In asserting, however, the principle of mutual independence of Politics and Religion, there is a peculiar meaning generally attached to the term. Among the modern, but by no means moderate writers, acknowledged chiefs in the Roman Church, this is especially observed. The doctrine has been bluntly asserted by them, that Politics has nothing to do with Religion. Their Jesuitism may, however, be detected by changing the saw; for they will be far from advocating the proposition, that Religion has nothing to do with Politics. Willing to free Peter from paying tribute to Cæsar, they are ready to promulgate that kind of independency, with a mental reservation, so that when the matter comes to the point, Peter will be found to be Cæsar's master. Such a settlement amounts to just nothing at all, and hence it challenges no admiration from us.

That Politics has nothing to do with Religion, if allowed in

form, is but a sorry compromise. Each party attaches to the terms its own peculiar meaning. By this is meant, in the mouth of Roman Jesuits, who seem everywhere inclined to what is known as Ultramontanism, that Politics, or the whole civil order, is so inferior to the ecclesiastical, that in point of fact it can never reach up to the sphere of the Church. From this point it is easy to affirm then, that the Pope as visible representative or head of this higher order, the polity of the Church, is sole arbiter of all life, the superior ecclesiastical order as well as the inferior order of the civil or state polity, because the higher includes the lower. When, therefore, in his official capacity as ecclesiastical, supreme head, he speaks *ex cathedra* from the Vatican, not only the higher order but all subordinate ones also must be in duty bound to admit his supremacy. Here then the religious factor is indeed independent of the Political, not because the claims of each in its own sphere are acknowledged and respected, but because the one has to all intents and purposes swallowed up the other. There is no freedom in this arrangement. It is just where the matter had at times been brought by the conquest of the one party by the other. Great moral questions are not thus to be settled by ignoring a vital factor, but by granting to each its normal freedom.

The Gallican tendency, on the other side of the question, may affirm the same proposition: Politics has nothing to do with Religion. In their mouth this may mean what Jefferson meant when he strove to separate, as absolutely as he knew how, the Church from the State. Any infidel political demagogue may use the same terms, when he would put down religion by withdrawing, as he supposes, the support it so much needs, that patronage of the State, which in some countries seems necessary to its very existence. None will be so silly as to assert in the face of history, that any peculiar form of religious polity is incompatible with any one form of civil government. In America the papal, the episcopal, the presbyterian, and the independent, have each been found in connection with the government of the States that fostered them. In the Republics of Switzerland and Venice the papal obtained; and in Monarchies and mixed Aristocracies the episcopal and presby-

terian have not been unknown. To say then, that Politics has nothing to do with Religion, in the sense that it *can* have nothing to do with it, is sheer folly; to say that they *may* have nothing to do with each other is equally unwise; and to say that they *should* have something to do with each other, in free relations of harmony, seems clear beyond a doubt.

The least that the Ultramontanists will allow is, that the political factor shall not set itself in hostile opposition to the religious. Only let it readily subserve their interests, and then it is perfectly competent to enact statutes and inflict penalties, and if it thus lend itself to the purposes of religious polity, the connection is heartily recognized. So will almost any piously inclined religionist recognize these claims to relationship, when in his favor, no matter how stoutly he may have opposed them when they seemed turned against his interest. It is of the utmost importance to know whether my ox gored my neighbor's, or whether his killed mine. The case thereby is materially changed. As long as the civil polity is strong enough to hold itself free from Ultramontane slavery, they are satisfied, if it sides with no party and tolerates all. In this country, where this is, to a great extent, practically the case, Jesuitism once sought to mould politics into its own shape; but now when another party takes hold of the same handle, turning the horn against its pretensions, it is ready to proclaim itself satisfied with bare toleration. Many Americans also, who once boasted that here Politics and Religion were forever divorced, now fanatically use the one to put down the growing influence of politico-religious opponents.

It is astonishing, and to the philosophical-inquirer it is a curious investigation, to learn how much of Romanism may be found in the other different isms in the world. In many points, that which seemed at first view most widely opposed, may be very much like it. From all the different isms this ism of isms might be combined. There is, however, a material difference to be noted: the same principle in Romanism that tends to a centralization, when found elsewhere, assumes an infinitesimal atomistic tendency. For example: Jesuitism in its bad sense, centering in the papal supremacy, and Know Nothingism even

in the hands of the most piously inclined, carrying in itself seeds of dissolution, producing even at this early day occasionally as it were spontaneous explosions.

If Romanists charge Protestantism with being only a political order, drumming into its service the machinery of national religions, thus proclaiming itself to be a system of nationalism in the form of quasi religious politics; it may be retorted, that theirs is a system of political religion. The papacy, as a definite system, depends essentially for its existence upon its polity. Take away this and it falls. Hence, whenever it declares religion independent of politics, it is not to separate these in a free way, with a self-determined sphere in which each according to its own inherent law shall act; but it means that the one has overshadowed the other so as to destroy the normal law of its life. A grossly political religion is certainly not much preferable to a religious politics, especially if in this last, the practical workings beget a freer life, a purer morality and a spirituality that will compare favorably with the corresponding elements in the other system. Protestantism, moreover, does show itself quite as capable as a religious system to live divorced from the civil State, as the other dare pretend to be. If it needs to be refuted on this ground, the task will not be easy. With all this, however, we are free to say, that in our most careful study of the past, there are not many points where Politics have nothing to do with Religion, and still fewer where Religion has nothing to do with Politics. Some attempts, honest enough in themselves, no doubt, have been made to settle this controversy for supremacy between these two factors, by setting up a sort of independency for one of the other. But the question still recurs, has this been attained, in any tolerable degree of success? Violent attempts against law do not always produce the greatest amount of desired good. Whatever, therefore, may be the good intentions of honest minded men, if they act in wrong directions, standing on untenable ground, or holding false principles, the object aimed at fails to be accomplished for want of truth.

History, like the writing made with ink that is at first pale, but grows plainer in time, is hard to be read in the fresh form-

ing scenes of the present. By this, the unmeaning embryonic present is interpreted and becomes plain in the hands of Him who brings order out of confusion. The present hostile attitude may look threatening enough to us, but the spirit of life is brooding over the rigid laws, interpenetrating each other's action at a thousand points; and where each one alone would beget an extreme abortion, when all act together under the law of life, a harmony is at last produced. Look for instance at the Historical events of the past ten years all over the world, and see whether their import does not challenge our most profound attention. In point of sublime significance there is perhaps no period of equal length in modern times, with which this does not most favorably compare, and even transcend in almost every important respect. It would indeed seem as though the effect of centuries of previously active causes, though long hidden, had distilled the essence of events and concentrated it all into the narrow compass of the present epoch. Hereafter it will be found that God has been settling much in our day, that has convulsed and divided the world for long centuries before. What men have violently torn asunder, He has seen fit to put together, and much that they had vainly imagined forever united, He has separated by a broad bill of divorcement.

Extreme independency of relation will as little aid in a real settlement of the controversy, as hostile antagonism. Organic relations must always be violated when mechanical, formal and rigid logic is made to take the place of spontaneous autonomic life. The outward and formal may not be first determined, and then arbitrarily require the internal vitality to fill up this form, full and square, with nothing wanting and nothing over—so much, no more, no less. Neither can it be determined from the start just what precisely shall be the outward form, which the growing life in the germ may afterwards assume when it comes to externalize itself in its maturity. It may be well known that an acorn will produce a certain *kind* of a tree, for this law is fixed and known; but how many branches and leaves it shall have in particular, may not be known from the general law of its life. Form and contents do

hold a general relation, but in any given particular case, what that shall be specifically, depends upon the individual life and the circumstances under which that is developed. If this be so in life's lower forms, how much more is it not the case in man, in his relation to morals and human freedom? Here the same life is related to the particular and the general, to the domestic, social, civil and religious order of existence. It is, therefore, simply impossible violently to separate these and set up blank independency. They are mutually related.

III. The relation of these cöordinate factors in human life must be reciprocal and free. They may be complementary in their own way to each other, but they ought never to be complementary, as in many cases it is sought to make them, and as they are forced sometimes to become. It is not at all contended that they shall be jumbled together in such a way as to destroy the freedom of either. Equally divine in their origin and human in their form, Politics and Religion must interpenetrate each other, when truly apprehended as they centre in the same life, and are externalized by the same moral agent. This does not destroy their relative independence by either one in its sphere swallowing up the other with its own peculiar rights and prerogatives. They coexist under the character of two distinct orders—the civil and the religious. As to form and contents in a given case they may differ, ought to differ when not illegitimately confounded; and yet the same personalities compose the organization of the one that form the cor-porality of the other. The Christian may be a politician, in a better sense than that practiced by the Pope and the Jesuits; and the Politician ought to be at the same time a Christian, as the highest style of man. Religion, if it exist in external organization, must, however, have a polity of some form, Episcopal, Papal, or Presbyterian; and Politics, if it be not of the devil, must have not only morality of a questionable character, but also religion undefiled, for its basis.

Eternal law, written or unwritten, revealed or natural, is the only normal basis for human law. Without this, civil enactments are a sheer nullity. Not that we would say some laws may not be relative and of force only for a particular form of

the civil polity. For a democracy may enact one code of laws for the State in which it obtains, while a monarchy may require conflicting laws, relative to the former, to be obeyed in its jurisdiction. Here the particular form may differ widely, while the general contents or principle is the same. So the form of polity may differ in the various parts of the religious order, as the human elements in its formal constitution may determine, while the essential constituents of the order itself is divine. If government is divine in its authority and fundamental basis, and when humanly actualized takes the form of Democracy, Aristocracy, or Monarchy, either in their simple forms or severally combined, and thereby accomplishes its own proper objects; the religious order can then, under corresponding forms, maintain its own divine economy. Nor is there any reason why the two orders might not exist in the same humanity raised to a union with the divine, in heavenly harmony. No violence need be done to either, and neither should usurp the legitimate sphere and operations of the other. If both were not necessary, only one would have been divinely instituted.

Politics, in this sense, *has something* to do with Religion. Equally certain is it also, that Religion has something to do with Politics. While religion, however, must have polity, and politics must be religious, no undue interference need necessarily result from this mutual relation. To mistake it so, is to make religion either a political machine for self-aggrandizement, as is seen in the tyranny of the mediæval papacy, or politics, the patron of State religions, as is charged by Ultramontan-ism on Protestant polity in modern times. The civil polity is practically everywhere under the moulding influence of religion, and the religious order is more or less conditioned by the tone of politics wherever it is found. The conflicts engendered grow out of the imperfections and contradictions of sin in man's life. The temporal may be a basis for the spiritual, but on that account is none the less necessary or important for the manifestation of this last; and therefore may not be subverted by neglect or tyranny without great wrong. Relatively, both are important, as body without soul is a corpse, and spirit without body is a ghost.

If it be sought practically to illustrate the relation as it attempts even now, though somewhat blindly, as it would seem, to reconcile the humanly created strife, examples will not be wanting. In Spain the papacy is not the same as Romanism in Mexico, though both nations belong to the same stock. Romanism, with all its proud boasts of immutability is not the same in these United States that it is in Italy. Episcopacy differs in America and in England. Lutheranism is not in our country what it is in Denmark and Sweden. The outward form in every case depends on the outward conditions. The heavenly essence may be the same, only differently manifested though none the less divine. Political governments depending on the free autonomic action of the people, may change in the same land and still lose nothing of its divine right. Whatever may be the dispute, therefore, as to the rights relatively of religion and politics, each does practically acknowledge some right of the other. Especially in our own country, where they trammel each other as little as could possibly be the case in our present imperfectly developed life, they do, we say, have something to do with each other.

Religion is acknowledged in the fundamental elements of our government, and restrictions are laid upon those who do not conform to its broadest and most obvious principles. The Sabbath breaker is punished, or can be punished, by the provisions of the statute; the infidel is prohibited from giving testimony in a court of justice; and religious meetings are protected in the enjoyment of peace and safety. All religious systems *not hostile to the government*, are alike protected. At the same time, politics is allowed its supremacy in its own divinely appointed sphere. No religious test is required, except prohibitions of irreligion. Gross errorists, however, are punished by the civil arm, as for instance, the blasphemers, the bigamists; and fanatics are restrained. Mormonism may, as a religious system, be tolerated by the civil statutes of Salt Lake city, but for our latitude it would not answer so well. The polygamist prophet and his uxorious elders would here be made to suffer the penalty of the laws against bigamy. The Seventh day Baptist is punished if he labor on the Lord's day. The

Roman Catholic may be proscribed, because he holds allegiance to the Pope at Rome, which he conscientiously believes to be more binding on him than his oath to the Constitution of the Union.

Here are some of the practical difficulties, not of minor importance, growing out of the intricate relation of Politics and Religion. They stare us plainly in the face. They are real, not imaginary difficulties only, that vanish with close scrutiny. We cannot pitch into them with a Know Nothing furor, and remove them all at one desperate plunge. In doing so we may destroy civil and religious liberty—Church and State. Just as little can we come to a safe and sure settlement by throwing ourselves in despair upon the supremacy of the Pope, trusting in his infallibility, and thus propagating Ultramontaniam. Either of these might for a while, as similar attempts heretofore have done, smother the flame, but it would only break out with more fury, having gathered strength by confinement. Do we then give up the solution in despair? Some may, as others have already done; but for ourselves we have too much faith in God, thus to act. We do not think the difficulty, with its vast dimensions of difference, as yet settled; nor do we think it very soon will be. This one thing we know, there is freedom and there is authority—where they now jar, our faith tells us they shall work together in harmony.

The Church, which came from God, and the State which he also ordained, may be in conflict, because sinful human elements constitute the outward revelation of both; but they shall yet be brought into lovely harmony. Our attempts, mathematically to determine the formulas of their cöordinates, whether it be of the hyperbole, ellipse or concentric circles, may give us infinite lines, inverse variables or fixed values. These all only show us that logic runs life into an extreme where its autonomic attributes are cramped and valueless. God settles a life question in a living way. His solution allows free activity to the vital powers. In the life of History, therefore, partly in the past and present, partly also in the future, the free settlement of this controversy must be found. God moves in the history of our race, and man in the exercise of his human freedom is

the living outward power that acts out his will. Whether we can determine the exact way in which all the difficulties that meet us here, may be settled, or not, the case remains the same and may not be forced to square with our preconceived notions.

Such world facts, begotten from the spontaneous life of the race, as the Reformation of the sixteenth century that has changed the face of the world, cannot be set aside with a mere wave of the hand. The finger of God is there, and it will not do to ignore the whole wondrous work as, in the providence of God, a permitted trick of the devil, incarnate in Luther and the other great Reformers; nor does it look very philosophical, to say nothing about the boasted prerogative of logic, to make it the result of a secret society organized for this special purpose several centuries before it found itself able to develop its bad intentions.* This were indeed the miracle of miracles. We cannot see how this hellish plot could have been fostered through so many generations without betrayal, notwithstanding the acknowledged tact and shrewdness for such work, of his infallible holiness, through a long series of pontifical successions,

* The best joke of the season, as our public lecturers would say, is the attempt made in the last number of Brownson's Review, to account for the origin and success of the Reformation. The magnitude of the effects of this movement is acknowledged, and at the same time it is confessed that it has not been sufficiently accounted for by Roman Catholic writers. Great effects can only be produced by great causes. The base, ignorant, stupid, depraved, &c., Reformers "baffled princes and nobles, kings and Cæsars, popes and cardinals, bishops and doctors, and gained over the multitude in more than a third part of Europe. How explain this fact?"

In the light of the late fitful "rise and progress" of the Know Nothing order, and, in full view of their recent almost universal triumph, the whole Reformation of the sixteenth century is to be "philosophically explained." Perhaps too, the memory of Jesuit success adds to the conviction. Answering, therefore, the question, What was the cause of the Reformation? it is replied: *Secret organizations*, which under a show of outward conformity to the Church, contrived to maintain themselves to a fearful extent in her external communion, for two or three hundred years before the outbreak of the Reform. Opposed to the Church was a secret society, which spread over a large part of Europe, and to which belonged kings and emperors, princes and nobles, bishops and presbyters, courtiers and bards, lawyers and counsellors of popes and of monarchs."

Hence, when all was matured after these long centuries of secret preparation, the Reform broke out on so many points of Europe almost simultaneously! The Church thought there was nothing serious in the matter—its *infallible head*, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, pursued a policy that proved disastrous. "The controversy, at least in the beginning, was to a great extent blunderingly conducted on the side of the Catholic party." Well done for Brownson! Where was the "supernatural strength" and infallibility then?

along with the aid of universal councils ! What will men not rather believe than the living truth ? It may remain, for the present, an open question, whether Christianity in the first three centuries from the day of Pentecost, achieved more than Protestantism has done since God gave it birth. With all its imperfections, with all the contradictions involved in the partially undeveloped law of its being, with the impossibility, if you will have it, of reconciling it at every point with the rigid deductions of dead logic or rationalistic consequences, it must nevertheless be received as a *living factor*, setting aside stiff formulas and contributing in its own free way to the solution of the great world problem, found to be so complicated in its multiplex conditions. Life here, as elsewhere, is not a fixed extreme. Men of only one idea may be great in that given department, but in the fixed fact to which they exclusively cling only one phase of life's truth is apprehended ; so that a warped judgment is formed of all besides. It may even be found easier too, to rest in an entire self-surrendry, upon some such point, than to seek industriously for sure footing, where the ground sometimes gives way and new investigation is required. Hence, in despair some are constrained to cast themselves upon the imagined infallibility of the pope ; instead of having faith in God. "Walk by faith, not by sight." This has saved many from despair, and can serve others a like heavenly purpose.

Faith in history, sees God working in an organic way, always with a purpose, never at random or by accident. In its generality, this power is continually active in begetting such life as the law of its own nature freely produces. It is something more real and objective than any kind of organized individuality in whatever way bound by logic ; and thus its normal force exerts its creative power from age to age, as above all the conscious or involuntary efforts of the living generation in eliminating the great truth, after which the wants of man must strive. The problem will be solved by the workings of the free spirit, that, neither in haste nor sloth, never by a backward movement, but always steadily advancing in progress, evolves

in the experiment of life new aids to its final solution. This we see in the past ; for this we hope in the future.

Coming, then, to this point of our inquiry, we do not consider the unended controversy between Politics and Religion, as small and insignificant. It is so great that ages have failed to satisfactorily dispose of it. It is so important and fundamental that all ages have been more or less alive to its significance. We do not think that the present age can put it to rest, either by submitting to papal supremacy in the Ultramontane sense, or in the spirit of Red-republicanism and infidelity, in whatever shape, making the Church the tool and bond-slave of the State. Although it be now a matter of earnest consideration, or perhaps of anxious alarm, to know what is our part in the work before us, in order that right ends may be reached ; yet, we see no cause for quarreling, because Providence is not willing to make all plain, to our logical reasonings, that has remained an unsolved problem through long centuries before us. This much we know, that both factors are important and necessary elements of man's life in the world ; both are equally of divine origin, centering in the eternal law of life, and though hitherto and at present in conflict, their future reconciliation is not only possible, but certain. So also may we conclude, in reference to Human freedom and objective Authority, Private judgment and General Rule, and Decrees and Free Grace.

The world's life is not so bad as to be entirely despaired of. The present is better than the past, though it may not look quite so smooth. Some look only on the coarse present, attired as it is in all the rough coverings of reality, and thus compare it with the beautifully pictured past, shaded in dim distance with its convulsions hushed, its contradictions forgotten and its asperities of life covered, all of which a nearer view would reveal. The fierce spirit of controversy, so exceedingly sensitive, in its character, and extreme in its demands, all covered with the raging foam of madness, lashed up by party strife on the raging waves of excitement in the sea of unbounded commotion, may threaten to sink our ship in the maelstrom of contest. When such a scene is compared with the lake-like placidity of an Augustan age, or some period of calm and listless in-

activity, we may forget that our father is at the helm. We must look beyond the commotion and thunder of the wrecking storm, to estimate the unnumbered blessings it promises, in its rough kindness, to man. The very fierceness of the past and present struggles, only proves their necessity for the future good of the race. Revolutions even, in God's hands, produce benefits.

Future good often grows out of what seemed evils, in the past or present. The present agitations in the political and religious life, of our own country, and more especially Europe and Asia, must produce some new phase of development in these several departments. It may, in a more definite way than ever before, determine the relation of these vexed questions. The rough and hardy life of the north so long combined with the stagnant Greek Church, may wake up to an activity for which it has been prepared by the long rest; it may pour a new element, fresh and vigorous, into the religious and political life that is now fast becoming effete. How much may not the relative position of these historical factors be changed, within the next quarter or half century! The proud Autocrat of all the Russias, strangely combining the political and the religious in one contest, may, in the hands of the Almighty, become something more than a great northern bear, fiercely raging in his ice-bound palace. It matters little whether the other powers combine against him or for him, if he is the chosen instrument to develop, either by his success or defeat, a new principle in the life of the world's history. Partizans must always be blind; and hence many miscalculations are made which seem fair to the extreme views thus taken, till the illusion is dispelled and the hand of God appears, doing his will among the children of men. Seven years ago, horoscopes were differently cast, and the shrewdest among men, could not have guessed the present aspect of the world's history, either in its political or religious character. The rapidly maturing events now baffle all calculations of the wisest seer.

With God moving before us in the grand cycles of history, through the light of the past, we may descry the dim looming figures adumbrated in the dawning future. In each of the

distinct periods, now buried in the tomb of ages, we discover the solution of some particular part of the problem of humanity, bearing a definite and necessary relation to the progress of the race. The special part of any such period respectively, which is most important, as containing the germ of all that follows, is its epoch. This in each case furnishes an index to the specific nature of that part of the problem to be wrought out by that age. Thus the period of ancient Jewish history cultivated and developed the moral part of man's nature. The great Monarchies of the East inculcated and enforced respect for outward authority, in the form of despotic, absolute power. The laws of the Medes and Persians changed not, and the monarch received almost the homage of a god. To discover the *ideal* of creation, to draw out the essence of mind and ascertain its laws of action, was the province of that wonderful people, the classic Greeks. All the powers of life blended into one result, in the material uses, reduced to practical purposes, applying law, and creating a system of jurisprudence in the services of the State, was the Roman mission. Practical life is committed to the Anglo-Saxon race, in all its different branches and relations.

Or, in a different aspect, one period may be taken up with the process of bringing loose elements together, centralizing power and nationalization. Sometimes civil constitutions are to be formed or remodeled, as in the late revolutionary movements in Europe. The revival and cultivation of literature, the emancipation of mind from mental slavery and degradation, in the sphere of politics and religion, also marks a glorious period. Despotic power, political and ecclesiastical, had restrained the pent up freedom of man so long and so unduly, that when it did burst the shackles that held it enthralled, it fell into the opposite extreme of licentiousness. Hence we have the keels of society upheaved from their old moorings, and the social relations, as well as government, that grows out of these, have been at times convulsed, and torn up as it were, by the very roots. The want of proper vents in Church and State, has more than once agitated the world's quiet life and shaken the foundations of the strong pillars of society.

Action and reaction is a law of life, just as force and resistance are found in the momentum and gravity of matter. The radical revolutionary spirit of our age, therefore, that has shown itself so fierce of late years, is the natural consequence of antecedent causes. It need not alarm us unduly. Liberty deprived of its rights will assert them, in a sense true or false, according to previous fit training or neglect. Far be it from us to justify all that has been done in times of counter excitement in the sacred name of liberty. Excess is the necessary result of deprivation. Two sets of muscles of the same organic body in operation will rest each other, but one alone acting and the other's action repressed begets fatigue and convulsion. Neither freedom nor authority should exclude the legitimate action of the other. The same may be said of private judgment and general law, as well as the vital factors of humanity in the sphere of Church and State, politics and religion.

Absolutism, in any finite and human shape, is a dangerous extreme, be it democracy or monarchy, in the natural or spiritual order. It is always important that power, be it lodged where it may, should be checked by the imposition of constitutional restraint in the form of fundamental laws, within the prescribed limits and guaranteed freedom of which it may legitimately act. All truly free action, to be such, must be subject to responsibility. This is true in relation to Peter or Cæsar, the pope or the people. In a monarch, civil or ecclesiastical, the danger is the extreme of arbitrary will. With the people, it degenerates into licentious radicalism in the shape of mobocratic violence. The people may endanger, or even destroy their natural liberty by committing suicide with their own power. The centralized one-man-power, beneficial as it may have been in some instances, when unbridled, can run into abuse of the rights it was called to protect.

Supremacy is thus, not supreme, except it be supremely right, which belongs not to finite, fallible man. A combination of these fallibilities cannot beget an infallibility. To say, then, that the people or the pope will do no wrong, because it is morally impossible, is a broad lie in the face of history. The power of free action, therefore, must come, as derived from its

divine source through mediate organs. Constitutional power must submit to fundamental laws. This is necessary in the right relation of its constituent elements to the very idea of any social, political, or religious organization. Its form of polity must not transgress its divine constitution. Hence, it is not true that he is most free who acts according to the arbitrary caprice of his own will. The freedom of our glorious Union is an obedience to the constitution; called by a British philosopher, "A treaty imposed by the people on their own government as on a conquered enemy."

Looking at the present phase of the world's history, we are brought by these considerations to expect some progress in the solution of the great problem. The right relation of the several factors may be more clearly determined. Certainly we do now know, that it is not found in hostile antagonism, nor in absolute independency, nor yet in unnatural union. The one must not usurp the powers of the other; neither may they encroach upon the ground severally assigned to each by their divine Author. The true genius of History may reveal to us something of the mutual relations of their interpenetration in free correspondence. Civil liberty will doubtless yet rejoice in the triumphs gained in the Eastern war, and Religion may be called to inaugurate a more glorious stage of Christian development. Whatever be the base passions now engaged in the field for selfish gratification, we have this consolation, that God will make all things work together for good.

Who knows the mystery of His providence by which those strange anomalous combinations have been formed? What means the recent awakenings to life in that long stagnant past of the Christian Church? What relation shall the Czar sustain to the Pope, the politico-religious monarch to the religio-political? These are the principals now in the war, whatever be the external combinations. What shall become of the false prophet's mixed system of truth and error, combined in the compound relation of the religious and political factors? These and such like questions are big with import in their practical answers. We anxiously look, even in our day, amid the smoke and din of battle, for a more satisfactory reply than has yet

been given. The commotion and strife every where, the stern buckling on of the armor even in our land, betokens a determined, spiritual contest, the result of which, we trust, will be the triumph of right and truth. God only knows what we may yet live to witness. May he grant, along with the power to do our part well, that we may wait patiently in faith, till he adjusts all difficulties by the Spirit and life of his Son!

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ART. IV—THE CHEMISTRY OF FIRE.

OBJECTS of a striking character are most apt to attract the attention of man, on account of their departure from the usual course of nature, or because they exhibit some seeming anomalous deviation from her laws. The phenomena of nature, which hourly take place, in and about him, generally fail to command his attention,—though he is ready to recognize the might of the great Ruler of all things, when bright flashes of lightning, accompanied with the pealing sound of its thunder appear in the skies above him. The little seed may show the wonderful powers possessed by its dormant vital force,—may send forth rootlets, which shall give the future plant a firm hold on the soil and enable it to gain sustenance from the same,—may develop the slender stalk and even grow up to the full maturity of a tree,—but these, being every-day occurrences, regular manifestations of the laws of the vegetable kingdom, elicit but little attention or admiration from man. Again, the animal!—comprising still more that is wonderful than the plant;—its very existence being a constant warring of the vital force against a dying tendency of its component parts,—the physiological paradox, that to have life we must have constant death,—the peculiar food needed to repair the effects of the wear and tear of the system, and the mysterious changes it undergoes before it can be fully adapted for this purpose,—the

regularity of the Circulation, bearing in one direction a vivifying current, and in another, one surcharged with noxious principles,—the Respiration, conveying the peculiar substance which vivifies to the one current of the circulation and removing that which is detrimental to life from the other,—the closing scene of life, when the power, which presents these very mysteries as proofs of its presence, leaves the vital frame and although there may remain,

“Before Decay’s effacing fingers
Have swept the lives where beauty lingers,”

the rapture of repose, yet the decay of the particles, which previously formed the body, making it now loathsome to those who formerly delighted in its company:—all these are allowed to occur daily without exciting more than a passing notice from the world.

Even the principle, which we call *Life*, underlying the mysteries of the plant and manifesting its presence in it by *growth*, or in the animal adding to this manifestation that of feeling and instinct, or in *man*, the higher power of intellectuality and will,—even this fails to attract a modicum of that attention its importance demands.

All these afford striking examples of the consummate wisdom of their Creator, on account of their harmonious adaptation to the ends, for which they were created. They are examples of the normal operations of nature. Constant familiarity with them has caused us to forget, or at least to overlook them in our daily reflections, and it is only when some remarkable deviation from the rule presents itself,—some Aztec or Giant,—that we pause to consider *what* constitutes the rule, and to investigate the nature and extent of the deviation.

There are many things also connected with the physical phenomena of nature, which rarely receive attention from us. Among these can be mentioned the four so-called elements of the Ancients, from which they supposed all matter was created. In the *Earth*, they saw the stable basis of the whole, applying the name to everything of a solid nature found in the planet on which we live; in the *Air*, they recognized a simple fluid which appeared to penetrate all space; in *Water* and *Fire*,

two antagonizing principles, always warring against each other. This division of matter, erroneous though it be, was first proposed by Aristotle. It has challenged investigation, which has resulted in great additions to our knowledge. We do not propose to follow such investigations in the present article, but merely wish to examine the *Chemistry of Fire*,—to discuss the wonders of the simple process which we designate by this name, and the nature of the substances essential to it under ordinary circumstances. In doing this, a wide field will be opened to us, abounding in the richest treasures of science, from which we may glean some material that shall clearly show, *all is not only mysterious that occurs at rare intervals*, nor is everything or process, “weary, flat, stale or unprofitable,” which belongs to the daily operations of nature.

Heat is the great repulsive force of nature. Matter of a seeming everlasting character is forced, from its compactest form, to become mobile, and to allow movement among those particles, which were bound by the strongest force of cohesion, one to the other. The Ancients, with all their innate reverence for the forces of nature, and their disposition to attribute them to the direct agency of Divinities, hailed Fire as the mightiest of the gods,—watching with admiration the spark, as it was fanned into a small flame, at first flickering, contending with feeble power for the mastery, then gaining additional force from the food on which it was feeding, and finally springing upwards embracing the combustible material in its lambent course. The bright flickering of the flames, as they played in the hearth, dispensing comfort and cheerfulness, while the chilling blasts of the wintry wind were heard howling in the darkness of the night, seemed to them like a god in his kindest and most gracious mood; while the lurid flames of the volcanic eruption, or the vivid flashes of the heaven's electricity, seemed like that same god in his angriest and most vindictive mood. Quite early indeed did the poetic mind of man detect the indispensability and importance of Heat, in the mild and vivifying rays of the sun, as it kindly enticed forth, from the hidden recesses of the seed, the radicle and plumule which constitute the vegetable, and in that animal warmth, without which life itself cannot be.

During the Middle Ages, when chemical research was in its infancy, and all investigations were found nugatory without the aid of fire, it was an agent idolized by the Alchemists. They hoped by its means to expel the moisture, supposed to be inherent to Quicksilver,—and which, when removed, would leave behind the precious metal—Silver—one of the objects of their toilsome researches. By it alone, also, they expected to obtain those potent extracts which should have the wonderful power of transmuting all things into Gold,—and which should allow Science the actualization of the power that Mythology had placed in the hands of Midas.

Fire is worshipped at the present day. The Persians are known to adore flame as a spiritual essence, constituting the life-giving and life-sustaining force of nature. Indeed this idea, with some little modification, is acknowledged as true by modern science. Though it is not considered the *primal* force, yet, under the direction of omnipotent power, it is the mightiest of all the agents selected to manifest this power. For notwithstanding Fire is to be considered as the result of intense chemical action, yet, as its immediate effect is Heat, we may look upon it as entering into the composition of all matter and determining its condition,—bodies being solid because they lack the necessary amount of heat to give them fluidity, and liquids because they have not sufficient heat to give their intimate particles elasticity inter se. In such a view, although we fail to determine exactly what may be the nature of heat or fire, we prepare ourselves to investigate the sources from which it comes.

We find it streaming along with rays of light from the sun, and, by the different angles with which it strikes the earth, producing that pleasant change of the seasons, which makes up the year,—causing the grateful breezes of the spring which woo forth, from their hiding places, sweet birds and fair flowers;—the fiery blasts of the summer's Sun, and the chilling winds of the winter. It comes also from the interior of our planet, where, philosophers teach us to believe, there exists a raging fire, producing heat of such intensity, that all matter, the refractory metals, the primary state of the geologist—the

enduring granite—are all in a state of fusion,—the cohesion, that binds their particles so tightly together, as they are found on the surface of the earth, being unable to withstand the intensity of this heat. In this way we learn what may be the cause of the existence of volcanoes and mighty Geysers, which seem to project their contents forth, as from a boiling chaldron in the depths of the earth.

Heat determines the peculiar physical condition of matter. We need only refer here, by way of illustration, to the fact that, although water remains as a liquid with us at almost all seasons of the year, yet, in winter, the diminution of the external temperature (that is, an abstraction of heat,) reduces it to the condition of a solid, whereas at a depth of little over two miles into the solid crust of the earth it is probable it would fly off into the aeriform condition and be only known as steam. And this power of regulating the volume of a body, by means of heat, is not exaggerated when we are told that it could be determined with precision “what amount of heat would be required to evaporize all the water on the globe,” and “how much would be necessary to cause the whole globe itself to become vaporiform.” Such calculations could be surely made, as the laws which regulate the condition of bodies with reference to heat, are fixed and determinate.

Heat is also produced by mechanical action,—driven, as it were, from a body by a condensation of its molecules, when friction or percussion is employed. Here, scientific explanation was preceded by the practice of the savage. The latter had known, for centuries before science was able to explain the rationale of the process, how, by the friction of two pieces of wood together, he could produce sufficient heat to ignite them. Many a council fire had been lighted by him in this way, and many a poor victim's life became a prey to flames which the tormentors had thus produced.

In the animate kingdom, Heat is bound up in some mysterious way with life itself; and, most important for our present purpose, it is developed by chemical action, with every phase of which, there is either a reception or loss of heat. No action, within the wide range of chemical affinity, is possible without

its presence. Under this head, we include combustion, where the action of heat manifests itself with such intensity as to form the phenomenon, called fire.

For the production of Fire, or *rapid* combustion, it is essentially necessary that there should be substances which are in their very nature combustible, and one which is capable of supporting combustion. The mysterious laws, which regulate the combination of these, in the process, require that certain and definite quantities should be present, and that the combinations, thus formed, should always be alike in their constitution. Thus when wood is burned, for example, it is a fixed law, that it should be converted into products having always the same composition,—a composition which is as exactly determinable by weight as mathematical accuracy can be,—and as true to itself under *like* circumstances, as the scales of justice are in affording to man the perfect equipoise of reward or punishment for the moral weight of his actions. Here indeed in the very beginning of our examination into the nature of the Chemistry of Fire, we learn something with regard to the composition of matter, which gives us an illustration, to use the words of Griffiths, “of the Scriptural truth, that a just weight and measure are the Lord’s; that a just weight is His delight; that He comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance.”

If the results of combustion were not of such a fixed character, there would be no harmony in nature’s laws,—that music which, though inaudible to the mere sensualist, sounds through nature and all her works,—swells in the roaring of the wind and gently whispers in the murmuring of the breeze,—forms its accords of dulcet sweetness in the movements of the planets, and calls to its aid everything that exists, whether it be animate or inanimate,—that music would be, we say, at best but the jingling of discordant sounds, devoid of all the enchanting sweetness which now forces us to recognize it as the most positive and convincing proof that it is the voice of the Lord of all.

A most important requisite to rapid combustion is the presence of an element capable of supporting it. Such an element

should exist in large quantities all over our earth, as Fire is required not only for the protection of man from the inclemency of winter, but also to aid him in all those operations, which an advanced condition of civilization demands shall be carried on through the aid of Fire. We need not refer to those processes, which the Chemist, in his Laboratory, shut out from the noise and tumult of the busy world, carries on for the purpose of scrutinizing the mysteries of nature, and, if possible, forcing her to give the key which shall reveal her hidden secrets; we need not refer to the many long days he spends in watchfulness by his Laboratory fires, justifying his claims to the title of "the Philosopher by Fire." It is not necessary to enter the quiet retreat of the student. Let us go forth into the workshops of the land, where the stalwart arm of the mechanic moulds, by the aid of fire, the refractory metals and forces them to assume the thousand varied forms his ingenuity suggests; let us watch him as he constructs, by its means, that wonder of mechanism—the steam engine—the stoutest and most useful servant to execute man's commands, and to perform with readiest alacrity the duties assigned it; let us examine the various forms which *iron* has been made to assume under the masterly skill of the workman; how, at the present time, we can judge of the position of any nation in the scale of civilization by its knowledge of the thousand useful purposes this metal can be made to serve; how, by the aid of Fire are constructed of iron, the tools of the artisan, the anvil of the smith, the trowel of the mason, even the delicate knife of the surgeon, and the multifarious machines which the farmer needs for tilling the soil, or in making its products available: all these show that if "iron may be regarded as the greatest material source of national intelligence and industry," Fire is the agent by which all its applicability to man's designs is fully and completely drawn out.

The element, *essential to ordinary combustion*, is a gaseous body, called Oxygen. This combines with the elements of the combustible and forms new compounds. The presence or absence of flame depends on the intensity of this combination. The two principal constituents of all combustible bodies, are

substances called Carbon and Hydrogen. It will be interesting to see, to *what extent*, these three elements, so necessary to fire, are distributed over Nature, and also *why it is*, that the two which form the essential constituents of all ordinary combustions, are the only elementary substances especially fitted for this purpose, on account of the peculiar changes they undergo, which result either in the formation of a substance not injurious to life, or of one which, from its peculiar constitution as a gas, is readily mingled with the great ocean of the atmosphere and by vast dilution also rendered innocuous.

Oxygen is the most widely distributed of all the elements, forming, in its combinations, at least two thirds of the whole earth; entering into the structure of organic bodies; into the composition of the waters which lave great continents, with their dashing billows or gently meander through grassy meadows; and into the formation of those mighty mountains, which, uprearing their summits as if in defiance of the wasting effects of time, give the beholder the idea of illimitable duration. And we find it not only in these, but in the atmosphere, as an indispensable constituent, penetrating all its parts, and bearing the same ratio to the other constituents wherever we investigate its composition. We are unconscious of its presence, because that presence is required for the perfect carrying on of the functions of life; and thus, its condition, though apparently passive, retains in ever fresh activity all the world about us.

The process of Respiration in the animal, depends on the presence of Oxygen, and is at most but an arrangement by which the system can be supplied with sufficient quantities of it to combine with and burn out, as it were, such particles as are no longer of utility in the system. The process is necessary for this *slow combustion* in the system. Every motion of the body requires the removal of some portion of the living frame work. The same law holds here, as in Mechanics, "that for any given effect, there is a consumption, a change of state, of a definite proportion of some material element." This change of state is produced, in the body, by the slow combustion in the capillaries—the furnaces of the animal system—of

certain substances which are composed mostly of carbon and hydrogen in varying proportions. All acts of life, then, are mysteriously connected with the presence of this bland supporter of combustion. Wherever we find vital force, we find the physical condition of its presence is, that there must be consumption of some part of the frame work in which it dwells. And this holds good throughout the whole range of organic life, whether we view it as the monad, of ephemeral existence, or in man with his reflecting mind and responsible soul. Throughout the whole range, the distinctive marks, which separate vitality from mere mechanical action, are dependent on the change of matter which is brought about by its combination with Oxygen gas; and although we are unable to perfectly explain, by theory, yet we know, experimentally, that the relation existing between vital force and the consumption of organic particles in the living body, is a direct one. The laborer who depends on the work of his hands for the support of himself and family, requires, in the pursuit of his daily avocations, the consumption of more organic particles, than the student whose physical labor is light; the former feels this keenly in practice, as the hours for his meals approach, and with an appetite, altogether paradoxical to the latter, eats with zest the amount of food necessary to make up for this previous consumption. This consumption of particles goes on as long as life lasts. The demands are, that, for every vital act, there must be a coincident death of some particle belonging to the system in which the vitality is manifested. All parts waste away under the influence of Oxygen, since to have action, energy, life in the whole, such sacrifice of the parts must take place; and, if, as is very briefly expressed by a scientific writer of the present day, "no means are at hand for repairing these daily and hourly losses, the individual perishes—dies more slowly, but not less surely, than by a blazing pile, burned at a low temperature,"—all the constituents of the body disappearing in succession, till at last "the substance of the brain becomes attacked," and reason tottering on its seat, "madness and death close the scene."

But though means should be at hand to repair these losses,

if the element which produces them be diminished, we shall find that, with each successive respiration, the demonstrations of vitality will be diminished, until at last the whole series of results, which demonstrate its existence, will close and death take place. The actions essential to vitality are destroyed, because the combustion necessary for their production is checked by the absence of the Oxygen. (It will be understood we are all this time not endeavoring to show that the vital force is synonymous with chemical action; but that the former manifests its presence in this way, and selects combustion as the means of generating physical force.) If we confine an animal in any place, where the atmosphere is not renewable from the great ocean of air around us, every breath it draws, deprives this atmosphere of its life-sustaining power; the animal languishes and dies. The system is crowded with the results of previous combustion of its particles. There are no means by which they can be removed. The blood flows sluggishly along the sides of vessels, through which it should course gaily. Stagnation of the blood takes place and with the checking of its current, there is a checking of life itself.

If this experiment be tried in a closely-confined room, in which a crowded assembly has been collected, weariness and lassitude are produced, and each one feels, as he leaves the room and breathes the pure air, the vast difference between the free reception of this grateful stimulus and the limited quantity he has only been allowed to inhale in the room. The respiration of the crowd has gradually removed the stimulating material which is required to keep up a slow combustion in the body, in order that the conditions of vigorous health may be preserved. An examination of the composition of the atmosphere of a close room with a crowded audience, before and after a Lecture in the Sorbonne, showed that as much as five proportions of Oxygen had been removed by this means in the space of an hour.

As life cannot be preserved under circumstances of confinement, in an atmosphere containing a limited quantity of Oxygen, so active combustion or fire cannot take place. In a vacuum it will be immediately extinguished. Where the sup-

ply of Oxygen is limited, the flame will become dim, and flickering faintly will soon cease. Hence the same element is indispensable to both; while allowed free access to the living being, or to the burning substance, we have the phenomena of life or of fire so long as the material on which it feeds is supplied it. In the one case this is determined by a law which regulates the existence of the organic being; in the other, by the amount of material afforded for the combustion.

But if life be dependent on the presence of Oxygen, and if combustion cannot take place unless it is present, it is a fair and rational supposition, that where the quantity of this element is increased beyond the normal amount, combustion would increase in vividness and rapidity, and the operations of the animal system would be carried on with increased vigor and activity. Such a supposition is proven to be true, when the chemist experiments with it, in a state of purity, as to its effect on life and combustion. When an animal is immersed in an atmosphere of pure Oxygen, the effects of the latter are too stimulating, and the result is inflammation and speedy death. Hence it forms only a small portion of the atmosphere, being there diluted by the presence of four times its weight of another gas, whose office seems to be only that of a diluent. If the atmosphere were composed of pure Oxygen, the animal creation would speedily perish from over stimulus; the phenomena of life would be produced in so heightened a degree that death would speedily close them. In the words of another, "as a candle burns brighter in Oxygen gas, and is more quickly consumed, so in this gas the flame of life would be more vivid, but would be sooner burned out."

Notwithstanding the constant demand made on the atmosphere for Oxygen, there has been no change in the composition of the former, since the first appearance of human life on the face of our earth. An analysis of the air at present would furnish nearly, if not quite, the same component parts, as existed in it centuries ago. By suitable provisions of Providence its deterioration has been prevented, and the element, so essential to the preservation of life and to combustion, is now as widely distributed as in the remotest period of history, and will

so continue for ages in the future. Independent of the means existing in the vegetable kingdom for supplying it, a French chemist has made a curious calculation, which shows that "the earth might be peopled with a thousand million of men, and animals equivalent to three thousand million of men, and yet these would not together consume, in a century, a weight of Oxygen equal to that of 16 cubes of copper, 3.273 feet by the side, while the air would contain 134.000 of these; and indeed that it would require ten thousand years for this number to produce any sensible effect on the great body of the air," so that chemical or electrical analysis could detect the change of composition.

Many agencies are at work to prevent an accumulation of impure substances in the atmosphere, freeing it from the impurities which have been combined with its Oxygen, and thus liberating the latter. Among these must be mentioned, as of first importance, the vegetable kingdom. In the Laboratory of the leaves, under the chemical influence of the solar beam, the purification of the atmosphere goes steadily on, from the first greeting the plant receives from the sun's rays in the morn until, in the borders of twilight, the last lingering ray leaves it for the purpose of visiting other plants in other climes. During all this time the chemistry of nature is at work. The Laboratory of the leaf is busied in furnishing supplies of Oxygen for the maintenance of animal life.

" From its inmost cells, each leaflet pours
In vital currents through its myriad pores,
To renovate the air, by tempest hurl'd
From pole to pole, around a freshen'd world."

But Oxygen does not only exist in the gaseous or liquid form; it also enters in the composition of the geological strata, which form the firm basis of our earth; into the constitution of the solid silica, and there, though immured, as it were, within rocky walls, still possessing the same properties as when floating in the passing breeze or forming a constituent atom in the foaming billow. Its range of combination with other substances is quite extensive, required by each of the three divisions of nature, and its place not to be supplied by any other of the sixty

two elemental constituents of matter. This universality of diffusion, shows the wisdom involved in its selection, as the universal supporter of combustion. If the world should be deprived of it, retaining, however, its present constitution, the higher animals would cease to exist, and vegetable matter of a rank character would cover the earth. Where beauty and grace are now seen to deck the meadow and hill side,—dark, colored vegetation, with a lurid glare, would alone meet the view. Creation would lose the highest manifestation of its Creator's power in the fact, that its master-piece (man himself) could not live to enjoy, and, as it were, bring out the significance of the whole. The grand end and object of the whole, the glorification of the Maker, would be prevented, by the impossibility of a living soul being present to render thanks and honor for the varied beauties of creation.

We shall find by reflection that our theme is not devoid of its poetry as well as of its general interest. Who has not felt his imagination awakened, as he has watched the open fire on his hearth, and in its changing flame, pictured weird figures of terror, or those charming phantasies, in which the mind at times delights to revel? Has not the light, dancing on the wall, chasing fitfully the darkness away, obedient to the longing wishes of the dreamer, assumed the forms of the distant and the loved, while all unconscious of the present, he has again lived over joyous days in the past, when from unclouded skies, the sun of peace and happiness shone brightly over his path, or when, perhaps, mid storms of unrest, he battled against the might of oppression and injustice. There is a witching sweetness thrown around these hours of reverie; a joyous freedom from the trammels which bind men to things of time and sense; a bliss whose greatest climax is attained amid the fullest serenity of the human mind.

We have seen that the element essential to fire, as its supporter, is widely spread throughout nature; the nature of the two principal elements of all common combustibles remains yet to be examined, as well as the nature of the products which result from this process: the last of which subjects will conclusively show, that no other two elements would have answered for the purpose in the present constitution of matter.

The element, *Hydrogen*, is widely diffused throughout the organic and inorganic divisions of nature. The substance which contains it in largest quantity, is water, of the volume of which it constitutes two-thirds. Its distribution is, therefore, immense; the vast distances, separating continent from continent, are occupied by this bland production of nature. In gushing streams it pours forth from the mountain rock, or in little rills it trickles down the hill side, bearing life and vigor to the parched vegetation of the plain; it comes, in spring, in gentle showers from the vapory clouds ranging in the sky above us, or from the storm clouds of summer, amid the play of heaven's electricity, it dashes upon the earth. View it in the placid lake, when no breeze ruffles the smooth and tranquil surface; the depths mirroring forth the forest trees that fringe its borders, giving the semblance of forests below, for the sportive amusement of old Neptune's subjects, and when perchance the swiftly-fleeting clouds reflected from its surface, as they chase one another across heaven's blue expanse, may be the only seeming disturbance to its tranquility.

View it again, when its waves have been lashed into the fury of a giant, under the influence of the driving storm; see how that consummate piece of man's handicraft, the steam-ship, with all its might, is rendered as helpless as an infant in the hands of a giant. Contemplate it with wonder, as under the direction of the bold Fireman it checks the ravages of the agent we are now considering, when crackling flames are fast destroying the beautiful works of man, and imminent peril is threatened to the unconscious slumberer; when the terrifying cry of *Fire* meets his ear in the dead of night, and the suffocating smoke, with the glaring flames, falls upon his opened eyes; when death, by the most awful torments known to man, seems grinning his ghastliest smile in the midst of the bewildering wall of flame which surrounds him; and then, see the conflict between the flames and the torrents of water, how, at first, the water seething and vaporizing, seems to lose all power when in contact with the destructive element, until torrent succeeding torrent, the imprisoned sufferer awaiting death, sees destruction removed from his path; the way is opened and life again smiles

cheerily at him. Here we see water, as a mild agent, perfectly passive; again a giant in strength and activity; and again coping with the destructive agent of nature and gaining the mastery.

But these are not all the purposes to which it is devoted in the mysterious economy of nature. It enters into the composition of all that has life, constituting the basis of those fluids which permeate all parts of animated structure. Deprive the latter of the presence of water, and there is only left a moiety of its former weight and none of its characteristic life. Even in man, however, it finds an use, independent of the mere support of the animal system, since the very language, with which extreme grief or joy is expressed by him, requires the employment of—Tears. In the chaste description of an English author,* the tear in the beautiful eye of a child may thus be traced:

“It was distilled from the primeval seas, it rose into the air, formed a cloud in the dark drapery of heaven, and was returned to water the rose and fertilize the corn-field. It then passed through the veins and arteries of the earth, bubbled up in the crystal spring, passed in the blood through that innocent little heart, and comes now the unbidden advertisement of a child’s sympathy.”

The traveller over the scorching sands of the great desert, deprived of water, suffers agonies unutterable, and gladly hails even the mirage,—all-deception as he knows it to be—thinking that by feasting his eyes on the sight of purling brooks he can banish, for the time, the agonies of his thirst. And the idea of this species of suffering is intensified in the highest degree when the instructive parable of Holy Writ sets forth to us the tortures of another world as of such a character that “not a drop of water can be obtained to cool the parched tongue.”

But in this very water there is, as already stated, the element essential to combustion, united by close chemical affinity with Hydrogen—one of the two principal components of all ordinary combustibles; and the burning of the latter wherever

* *Dream of Geology*, 66.

found, if a sufficient quantity of Oxygen be present, again results in the formation of water. And thus we can imagine the immense amount of aqueous vapor thrown, in this way, daily into the atmosphere; how the balance is kept up between the organic and inorganic world, since vegetables absorb this water from the air and the soil in which they are planted, retain it as the means of communicating, throughout their branches and leaves, the richly-elaborated substances which form new structure, and yet, on being exposed to the action of fire they give up this water again to the great store-house, from whence their constant draughts have removed it.

The Hydrogen of a combustible in burning forms the blandest and least injurious of all the products of nature. How could art or science, with all the aid the discoveries of a century have furnished them, have selected any substance, any element that could have answered half so well, as regards its wide distribution throughout the vegetable kingdom, the ease with which it combines with the supporter of combustion and the innocuous products that result from such combination? Is this not a wonderful illustration of the wisdom of that creative power which made a process, in all its parts, so well adapted for the preservation as well as the protection of animal life?

If the combustion of the element Hydrogen results in the formation of water, the latter substance should be found constituting a portion of the atmosphere, which envelops our earth. Experiment justifies such a conclusion. There is always an appreciable amount of watery vapor in the atmosphere, intimately bound up with it, and yet capable of being demonstrated even by mechanical pressure, so that an English experimenter actually made its presence manifest, in the driest condition of the air, by using a pressure of thirty thousand pounds to the square inch. To prevent an accumulation that would be disastrous in its consequences to life, we find that, by changes of temperature, this moisture is condensed, and, along with the vapor which rises from the surface of the great ocean, it descends then to the earth in the grateful showers of spring, the rains of summer, or the snow and hail of our winter. Thus it goes on its round of duty, ministering to the wants of men.

in a thousand ways, preserving a species of equilibrium in the great organization of nature.

Intimately combined with organic structure, Hydrogen may wait for a thousand years, the action of that chemical process which shall cause its union with Oxygen, and yet, during all that time, passive in character, it would indicate no semblance of the power which lies within it, nor would it lose this power in the slightest degree. When the moment arrives for the union of the two gases, combustion takes place, without leaving behind a product that could injure the most delicately constructed plant or the finest nervous system of the animal.

Let us suppose Sulphur had been the element selected to enter into the composition of ordinary combustibles. We know it will burn most freely,—will unite with the general supporter of combustion. But what would be the result? Would the products be innocuous to life, to say nothing of their actually being productive, after a time, of growth in the vegetable and being essential to the existence of the animal? Experience tells us, No! A gas of an offensive odor, destructive to all vegetable colors, bleaching the variegated shades of nature's garb, destructive to the vegetable and deadly to the animal, would be the consequence. Respiration would be impossible under such circumstances. Instead of the picturesque beauty of nature, a blighted scene would present itself; instead of the myriads of beings, teeming with life which cover the plain, swim in the water or float in the air, there would be no life,—but the earth would be one vast Golgotha, where all that had lived, breathed and suffered would be gathered in death from the pestiferous effects of this deadly gas. Nature would lose her very significance, since *without life* her highest and noblest meaning would be lost,—her grandest end and design would not be reached.

We must now hasten on to the consideration of the second substance, which enters into the composition of our combustibles. This is a solid substance called Carbon. Hydrogen, in burning, affords very little light; where illumination is required, Carbon must be added, which, from the heated condition it attains before it can be consumed and converted into

the gaseous form, produces almost the entire illuminating power of every burning substance. It forms a still larger proportion of the constitution of combustibles than Hydrogen. The consideration of its origin, place in nature and influences on the progress of civilization, would require far more space than is allotted us in this article,—but would afford an opportunity for presenting, in a connected form, some of the most attractive objects of study.

It is found largely distributed over both the organic and inorganic kingdoms, though originally belonging to the former. It is removed from a gaseous constituent of the atmosphere, called Carbonic Acid; this undergoes decomposition under the chemical effects of the light of the sun, the Carbon is retained for the structure of the plant, while the Oxygen, which in combination with it forms this acid gas, is given off again to enter the atmosphere. This process goes on wherever there is vegetation. The distribution of the element Carbon, though obtained by this comparatively slow process, is very great, and presents it in many different forms. If we divest wood of its Hydrogen and a number of inorganic substances taken up from the soil, we have left behind Carbon, in the form of *Charcoal*, constituting from fifteen to twenty six per cent of the original weight of the dried wood. Again, we find it laid up, as a species of mineral, in the great vaults of the earth, for the uses of mankind, and *Anthracite* is the name given to another form of Carbon. We find it in the material which the artist uses to give permanence to the forms that an educated perception of the beautiful produce in his mind, and Carbon is here known as *Plumbago*. Under another form, not black and repulsive in its appearance, but resplendent in its lustre, the object of grasping avarice and the delight of gay votaries of fashion, it appears as the brilliant *Diamond*; the synonyme of grandeur and high state; the Koh-i-noor among objects of wealth and beauty. Yet in all these forms, whether as Charcoal or Anthracite, which hide under a black and repulsive exterior, the material that under the effects of combustion is able to give activity to the steam engine in its application to the thousand purposes for which the ingenuity of man has used it, from the

distribution of the products of commerce by the mighty steamship, to the publication of the products of mind by that enormous lever of the world, the printing press; or in the form of the Diamond, which bedazzles the eyes of the spectator as it crowns the brow of beauty; under these varied forms its constitution is always the same. When exposed to heat it will become incandescent—throw off light and heat, and burn; the coal no more readily burning when kindled in our grates, than the diamond when heated in an atmosphere of pure Oxygen. The products of this combustion, being gaseous, are speedily removed by dilution in, and mixture with the great mass of the atmosphere. If this were not so, “the solid results of combustion,” says Farraday, “the ashes, so to speak, would have fallen like a mantle on every earthen object; light could neither have emanated nor been seen; the economy of nature would have been embarrassed, clogged for want of agencies to remove the results of combustion, and all living things would have died.*

But whence come the immense coal-beds, which underlie many districts of this country? How can it be possible that such an immense quantity has been collected from the vegetable kingdom, that one hundred and thirty three thousand one hundred and thirty two square miles of coal formation are supposed to exist in the United States, and eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty nine in Great Britain?

It is now proven beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Anthracite was originally formed by vegetable structure. The microscope examines its intimate construction and finds undoubted vegetable cellules, and the exact moulds or impressions of plants are also often found in the thickest portion of its structure. Modern science has also shown that these impressions might be produced in an artificial way; that by exposing leaves, imbedded in clay, to a red heat, a carbonaceous product was obtained very similar to the fossil leaf presented by nature in her coal beds. But the character of the vegetation which produced the fossil leaves, the immense periods of time, through which

* Farraday's Lectures, pp. 277.

the vegetable matter must have slowly accumulated and the forces by which it was completely carbonized (the other constituents in the mean time having been removed by slow combustion,)—these are subjects, on which we can speculate only with the greatest wonder, considering them the results of gigantic power.

If Carbon is separated from the atmosphere by the vegetable creation, it is manifest that the composition of the atmosphere in the ante-historic periods of the world, must have differed from its composition at present, as such enormous beds of coal could not have been separated from it without producing great changes in its constitution, and an atmosphere largely impregnated with Carbonic Acid, could not have permitted any human being to have lived and flourished on the globe, since large quantities of this gas are fatally pernicious to life. Hence, without straining the argument at all, we must consider this whole process of Carbonification to have taken place during that period of time, which, in the simple and sublime language of the Mosaic record of the creation, is called “the evening and the morning of the third day,”—before man was created, before the perfecting of Creation had been accomplished.

The forms, however, of the plants of that period, learned by us in our examinations of the impressions found in our coal strata, were different, both in kind and size, from the forms of those which belong to the present period of our history. Where science even detects a resemblance in some of the vegetables of the present day to those enduring *Lithographs*, which nature has made of the plants of her infancy, the resemblance seems more like that of the Lilliputians of Gulliver's first voyage, as compared with the giant Brobdignagians of his second. As to the ante-historic period of the coal formations, we may truly say there were “giant plants in those days.” If we could transport ourselves back, beyond the period of our own records, to that period, much would be found to astonish, yea, even to bewilder our unaccustomed eyes,—a wilderness of vegetable growth altogether unknown at present, would present itself, and in those giant solitudes, where vegetation was unchecked by the limitations of the present day, the beholder

would gaze with the stupifying astonishment that an inhabitant of some distant planet would probably exhibit, if on a visit to our earth. The author of the "Old Red Sandstone," in his imaginary visit to this geological period, has well depicted, and, we think, not with extravagance, what would probably have met the eye. On the banks of streams, bearing "seeds and ferns and cones of the pine of gigantic size," he sees "an amazing luxuriance of growth. Scarce can the current make way through the thickets of aquatic plants that rise thick from the muddy bottom ; and though the sunshine falls bright on the upper boughs of the tangled forest beyond, not a ray penetrates the more than twilight gloom that broods over the marshy platform below. The rank steam of decaying vegetation forms a thick blue haze, that partially obscures the underwood. Deadly lakes of Carbonic acid gas have accumulated in the hollows ; there is a silence all around, uninterrupted save by the sudden splash of some reptile fish that has risen to the surface in pursuit of its prey, or when a sudden breeze stirs the hot air, and shakes the fronds of the giant ferns, or the catkins of the reeds. The wide continent before us is a continent devoid of animal life, save that its pools and rivers abound in fish and mollusca, and that millions of the infusory tribes swarm in the bogs and marshes. Here and there too, an insect of strange form flutters among the leaves. It is more than probable that no creature furnished with lungs of the more perfect construction, could have breathed the atmosphere of this early period and lived."

From this luxuriant growth of vegetables the material was obtained for the vast coal formations already noticed. They grew to their full height, and then made way for similar plants of the same species. The stratum of vegetable deposit thus increased through thousands of years, it may be, to its present thickness, when by some sudden revolution of nature, some mighty inundation, bearing along with it material from distant hills, this vegetable deposit was covered up from sight. In the process of time, a like meadow, rich in these tropical productions, may have been formed on this deposit, and another rich stratum of vegetable material obtained, to be covered up, like

its predecessor, by some great revolution in nature. Then came the *Carbonization*. Under the joint action of immense pressure and moisture, a species of smothering spontaneous combustion ensued; the other elements of the plants were removed and the Carbon was left behind, forced into the compact mass we know as *Coal*. In passing through coal regions, especially where rail-road cuttings have been made, the coal strata will be often seen divided from each other by deposits of clay, slate or aluminous rocks, and thus, from their position, forcibly supporting the idea just expressed as to their formation. They look like tomb-stones placed over a race in the vegetable world, now past and gone; but they are suggestive to the human mind of the idea that He who made them must have possessed the very sum of wisdom, thus to cause the very decay and death of the plants of an ante-diluvial world to minister to the wants and comforts, as well as to aid the energies of those destined to flourish on the same world, in post-diluvial times.

The vegetation of this particular period answered another grand end in the economy of the universe; it prepared the way for the reception of a higher order of animate existence, by removing from the air that very substance which would have been fatal to all of that class; it made the earth habitable for beings created in the fifth period in the course of creation—"the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind," and also man made "in the image of the Deity and after His own likeness." The mind is lost in wonder, when it attempts to apprehend the grandeur of the process; extending through ages, preparing the way for the entrance on the stage of Time of the greatest wonder of all—*MAN*, himself. All the gorgeous visions which imagination has pictured as belonging to the wonders of Fairy land; all the gigantic works of fabled Genii sink into insignificance, when compared with this wonderful reality.

But to return to our subject; Carbon, whether furnished from these immense coal-beds or from the wood of the forests of our own times, in the process of combustion, unites quietly with Oxygen and forms a gaseous substance, already mentioned as Carbonic Acid. Now though this product is not as harmless to life as the water which is formed by the combustion of

Hydrogen, yet on account of a property peculiar to gases, which enables them to diffuse themselves through each other in despite of their gravity, until their noxious properties have become extremely attenuated, this Carbonic Acid gas, though much heavier than air, is diluted to so great an extent that it is rendered innocuous. It is as free from odor as water itself, and its swift dilution by the atmosphere prevents any ill effects from its presence. This very aptitude for dilution, and its freedom from any deleterious power or odor, when diluted, constitutes the special merits of Carbon as a combustible. If it were an odorous gas, like that produced by burning Sulphur, already noticed, although it might be diluted so as to have its poisonous properties prevented from acting on the system, yet the odor would render the atmosphere altogether intolerable.

Just as common combustion forms Carbonic Acid because there is sufficient Oxygen present for this purpose, so also that slow combustion which takes place in the system, produces Carbonic Acid, which is thrown off, by every expiration from the lungs. And this illustrates the innocent character of this gas, when present in a diluted condition. It comes into contact with the delicate tissue of the lungs and produces no injury; is continually bathing their minutest cells without altering their structure. There is no substance, except Carbon, which would answer these purposes; serving through slow combustion in delicate capillaries, to keep up the heat of the animal, and forming a product which passes quietly out of the system without injury, in the slightest degree, to its most intimate structure.

The amount of Carbon thrown off from the body, through the process of respiration, is almost incredible; making as much as 13½ ounces per day from the adult. This is removed from the air again by the vegetable kingdom, which detains the Carbon and throws off pure Oxygen for the support of the animal. The animal and vegetable thus act in opposite ways on the constitution of the atmosphere; the former throws off that gas, which if collected in large quantities around it would be detrimental to its life; while the latter absorbs this, extracts its poisonous properties and sends forth the element which is so im-

portant to life. Thus the two portions of creation mutually contribute to each others preservation and mutually exhibit the grand compensating laws of nature.

What process invented by man, could exhibit such an admirable adaptation of means to the end, not constructed as our processes always are, of a complicated nature, employing various external adjuvants to produce the desired effect, but the relation between the means and the end being *immanent*. The elements are so intrinsically adapted to each other; the results are so little calculated to injure the slightest and most delicate created being; the whole process is one grand exhibit of an Omnipotent power, which shows its Omniscience no less in the destruction of matter than in its primal creation; a subject for study, which must impress one full as much with the idea of an overruling Providence, as the grandeur of the storm, or the glorious beauties of the firmament, when studded with its myriads of heaven's luminaries, the brightly shining stars.

If we have succeeded in showing that one of the most familiar processes of nature combines as much that is wonderful, as those which, on account of their departure from her usual course, are more apt to attract the attention of man, our design has been accomplished in this article; our promise fulfilled that we would find, in this subject, some material which would clearly show, all is not only mysterious that occurs at rare intervals, nor is everything or process, "weary, flat, stale or unprofitable," which belongs to the daily operations of nature.

The ancients had a glimpse into the true nature of this process, and, as has been referred to by Scoffern, in one of their poetic myths, they have shadowed forth the same idea that science has since developed into the form of a full and satisfactory theory. The Phoenix having accomplished the end of her existence, mounted the funeral pile, fanned the flames which were to consume her body, but not to destroy one particle, since from the very ashes she rose again clothed in all the vigor and buoyancy of youth, regenerated from the deformities and decrepitude of age. The flames did not *destroy* matter, but presented it in a new form. There was here strong belief, veiled in poetic imagery, in the indestructability of matter,

when Fire even was shown to be unable to accomplish this result. And thus, in fact, must it ever be, so long as the present laws, governing created matter, are permitted to have power over it; and *when* this power ceases, and only *then*, shall Matter yield to anything like a destructive tendency,—Fire being selected by the Creative Power as the grand agent for destroying “the old things” of this World, and making way for the more brilliant and more durable things of that New World, whose limits can only be embraced in the idea of Eternity.

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ART. V.—THE MORAL QUALITY OF CONSCIENTIOUS ERROR.

WHEN a man feels any compunction for wrong doing and is not quite ready to confess, he can sometimes find a sort of relief in the false plea of sincerity and a clear conscience in his deed. There is often great effort to make that appear good which the heart feels to be evil; to justify what one secretly knows to be error or vice. The scriptures speak of men who call evil good, and good evil; who put light for darkness and darkness for light. And there is probably not even a Christian in the world who would not sometimes rather extenuate his infirmity than confess it, and frequently use the plea of sincerity and good intention as a cloak for real sin.

This trait of human nature appears on every page of the moral history of man. Sincerity in error, conscientious wrong doing, sincerely believing, at one time, what is rejected at another as false; conscientiously doing, at one time, what at another is lamented and abhorred; all this can be recognized everywhere as characteristic of the moral infirmity of man.

There never was a stronger case of this sort than that of Saul of Tarsus. In his Christian review of his career in the Jewish religion, he freely claims for himself the most religious and conscientious intentions, as a persecutor of the Church. "I verily thought with myself that I ought—." But he now wishes to hold up that error of his benighted and misguided conscience as one of the greatest aggravations of his Jewish unbelief. "I am the least of all the apostles, not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." "It pleased God in his mercy towards me, who was before a persecutor and injurious, to put me into the ministry." "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first, Jesus Christ might show forth all long suffering, for a pattern to them who should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting."

This error and repentance of Paul presents an important point in Christian casuistry, to wit: The moral quality of conscientious error. It offers a test of some of the common ways of avoiding self-reproach, and the reproach of the world. It shows the real character of some devices much relied on in the conflict of opinions, and commonly allowed to govern controversy as with the force of a divine law. When one would fortify his opinion by the vehement assertion of sincerity, or justify his deed by the assertion of a good conscience, it is well for him to consider the moral value of that sort of defence.

From the first appearance of Saul of Tarsus in the history of the Church, till his meeting with Jesus on the way to Damascus, he never wavers in his belief or falters in his action. He seems not a whit more distrustful of his rectitude as a bigoted and persecuting Jew, than afterwards as an humble and persecuted Christian. His judgment in this matter will seem to any reflecting mind entitled to great consideration. It was pronounced against his former self, in what he considered his better state of mind. It is the decision of an enlightened mind accustomed to reflection, just released from the strong prejudices of his early education. Above all, it is a judgment formed under the guidance of the Spirit of the Lord. Every

thing which can give one man's opinion influence with another contributes to make this judgment of the apostle against his former sincere and conscientious course, a solemn caution to all. It warns men not to count themselves innocent in error, though they hold it with all sincerity, nor guiltless in wrong doing, though they do wrong with good conscience. The apostle did not expect that on account of his sincerity and good conscience as a Jew, his error would avail for him as truth, and his vice as virtue.

Impunity in error on account of conscious sincerity is nowhere suggested in the Scriptures. In denouncing woes against those who call evil good, and good evil, the Bible makes no such distinction between the honestly deluded and the wilfully perverse, as between righteous and wicked. The deceiver and the deceived fall alike under the demands of justice; the difference between them lying not in the fact of corruption and guilt, but in the *degree* of responsibility for pernicious influence. The woman could say, "the serpent beguiled me, and I did eat;" yet her being a victim of deceit did not save her from the doom of a sinner. The Bible never countenances sins of ignorance. It reproves and denounces all who do not earnestly and diligently seek for truth, condemns them for their errors, and warns them of punishment. It forbids an indolent repose in falsehood, and a heedless indulgence in lawful deeds. The lenity of God towards sins of ignorance is no remission of the sins. The doom of Tyre and Sidon, of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment will be dreadful; only that of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum will be still more dreadful. God winked at the times of ignorance and required less in them than in times of greater light, yet the ignorant people perished in their lack of knowledge. He that knoweth not his Lord's will and doeth things worthy of stripes is beaten with fewer stripes indeed, yet he is beaten. Thus believers of falsehood and workers of iniquity, although, through ignorance, ever so sincere, find no justification in the Scriptures. They are left to a doom only less terrible than that of those who sinned with better knowledge.

What is thus taught by the example of Paul and the tenor

of the Scriptures, is confirmed by the natural and manifest preference of the human mind for truth and right. It is as contrary to nature that a man should be happy in believing falsehood and working iniquity, as that he should take pleasure in bodily disease. Falsehood and wickedness are poison to the mind ; producing, first, disgust, then disease and death. The motive for receiving false doctrine and running into vicious ways, is never a healthy desire for truth and love of duty. In whatever light it may be viewed, or by whatever name called, it is only a moral disease. It is no more evident that the body is to live by bread, than that the soul is to live by truth and virtue. No doubt the desire for truth and our satisfaction in attaining it, are the greater from our knowing it to be useful to our future welfare. But even when we read or hear with the idlest curiosity, is it all the same to us whether the story be true or false ? Though the counterfeit and the genuine appear alike to the eye, are they alike to the inward sense ? Would you have the same pleasure in a perfect imitation of the autograph of your friend as in the autograph itself ? When the builder tries to imitate marble in some inferior material, his very effort to deceive the eye signifies his preference for the reality, and his discontent with the least disagreement between the representation and the fact. How would mankind bear the loss of all truth from the world ; the truth relating to science and art, and to the origin, character and destiny of our race.

The very existence of science proves the affinity of the human mind for truth. The astronomer can rest in no theories but such as will account for the facts. Witness the universal agreement in receiving the theory of gravitation. The astronomer has found his heaven of truth on that point, and there he abides. No false supposition could supply the place of truth. The mind must find no rest in falsehood, and whenever it allows itself to repose in error, it receives damage to its character and its welfare. The more sincere in such error the worse ; for sincerity in such a state is only another name for prejudice, which prevents all learning, and determines not only against other views, but against all inquiry into the correctness of one's

own opinions. We have thus in the nature of man a strong ground of presumption that contentedness or what is commonly called sincerity in error and wrong doing, must result in evil to the interests of men, or in other words, is of the nature of sin and must bring its punishment.

This presumption is confirmed by the course of the divine government in the world. The heathens are sincere in their blind credulity, and as conscientious in their vices, as men deluded and depraved can ever be. The Christian world believes that they know no better. Yet they live always under the frown of God. Their iniquities are constantly visited upon them. *Because* they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, therefore, God gave them over to a penal debasement of the understanding and the heart; to absurd and degrading practices; to unnatural affections; to pernicious institutions, domestic and civil; to brutal customs and habits; to utter despair respecting a happy life to come. They are children of wrath, living the most revolting and deplorable of all conceivable conditions of humanity on earth. God thus declares his judgment that they which commit such things are worthy of death. Their miserable slavery to superstition and vice is the penalty of their sincere adherence to falsehood; that is, their hearty whole-souled self-surrendering to delusion. And then the Lord aggravates their misery by special visitations. His command to exterminate the aborigines of Palestine was given with terrible denunciations of their character and deeds. He taught the Hebrews to execrate those heathens; and gave them fearful warning, that all who adopted the falsehood and the vices of the heathens must drink also the cup of their misery. All Christendom surveys the dark abodes of paganism with pity for their desolation, with shame for our nature and with dread of the justice of God. And as for their sincerity and earnestness, in their way, we all admit that such sincerity and earnestness, or such decision and firmness in the way of truth and virtue, would raise them to the sphere of a glorious and happy life.

Now, if error, with sincerity and wrong doing with good conscience, could ever avail as truth and virtue, would they have so darkened and wasted the heritage of the heathen. Why do

not lies and fables, received with all the heart for want of better knowledge, do the work of truth on those people; unfolding in them true moral beauty and dignity, and yielding the fruit of pure blessedness? Why do not the moral sentiments of our nature there blossom with pure social affection, and ripen into permanent social order and prosperity? If merit can go with sincerity apart from truth, and with good conscience apart from virtue, why does not this sometimes appear in providential retribution? Why is it that no profusion of the gifts of providence can ever so combine with the errors and vices of paganism as to produce the general improvement and happiness of the people? If the Lord does really intend that ignorance shall neutralize error, and that self-delusion shall justify vice, how can he thus allow the course of his providence to contradict the law of his mouth.

Again, in the mental state of a man who cleaves to error and vice, we discern the property of evil which no sincerity can change or remove. It is a state of depravation, which has in itself the nature of sin. It is not an incapacity for perfect knowledge, the mere finiteness of the understanding. Error is not imperfect knowledge. Angels and saints in heaven, all earnest, docile students of the world and the works of God, are limited in knowledge, and differ in degrees of knowledge among themselves; yet are not chargeable with error. Their views are finite, but not therefore false. As they witness the progressive unfolding of the scheme of God and "desire to look into" the mysteries of redemption; and behold in their heavenly spheres the successive demonstrations of the manifold wisdom of God, their knowledge receives enlargement, but not correction. What they now know is true, and agrees with what they have to learn. Their progress is not putting truth for falsehood, but adding truth to truth. The student of language may know little at first, but know that little rightly. He may know the nature and powers of the letters, their true pronunciation in syllables and words; and many other such things, yet have little command of the language as an expression of thought. The student of natural philosophy may learn much that is true of the office and laws of light, yet have much

to learn of the invisible agencies employed in producing its effects. The science of astronomy began with the observation of facts, which indeed were as widely and as truly known at first as they are now; but it was long before those sublime views of the celestial worlds were obtained, which all future observations rather promise to corroborate than threaten to disturb.

But when the inquirer becomes the dogmatist, declares his fancy as doctrine, demands for it the homage of others, makes conscience of guarding it against the disclosures of clearer light, and shuts himself up in his cell of bigotry, he turns his imperfect knowledge into offensive and pernicious error. In such a state of mind truth itself loses its value. It is truth held in unrighteousness. It is degraded from the purity of a divine excellence into a low and dark conception of an impure mind. Though the man has the truth in a logical form in his thoughts, he does not know it as truth in his heart. He only asserts it as an opinion, and as such only it serves him. His mental conformation is vicious. His arrogance, self-confidence, and self-conceit are enmity against the truth, as truth; and favor it only as his own opinion.

Had Des Cartes, amidst the grand scientific movement of his age, asserted his theory of vortices, with dogmatic assurance, falsified observation to verify his doctrine, and distorted or rejected irreconcilable facts, he would have been inwardly wrong; and his theory would have had none of the virtue of truth for him; not even though in the hands of Newton, that same theory might have been demonstrated as the true doctrine of the solar system. But holding the theory as a hypothesis for explaining the planetary system, waiting to see whether the facts of the heavenly motions would fall together under it into unity, or whether it would be found to have no practical value, except, perhaps, as a hint towards the discovery of the true doctrine, he was on the right track as an inquirer, his theory was no fixture in his mind, had nothing of the nature of error, and wrought none of its mischief. His mental process was like one of the tentative steps of the student in finding the common measure of several quantities, when he drops his assumed measure the instant he comes to a quantity which it will

not divide. The state of mind is not only faultless but eminently praiseworthy; the posture of a learner. The hypothesis is his post of observation, till he sees whether he can command, from it, the known facts of the case. If he fails with his supposition he moves, with infinite facility, from that to another more promising, not as forsaking, but as seeking his resting place in truth.

The application of these remarks to the science of religious truth is obvious; and it commends to the serious consideration of all Christian people, the question whether any man can really hold erroneous doctrine, except as the victim of a guilty perverseness. Pride, vanity, avarice, ambition, with their progeny of partialities and antipathies for persons and things, inflame the selfish heart with zeal for an opinion; and when robed in the sanctity of a religious profession, conceal their motions; if not wholly from the public eye, yet commonly from the eye of the errorist himself. Thus, what passes with him for the greater sincerity is only the deeper delusion, and more hopeless obliquity of the understanding and the heart; and so far from extenuating the guilt of his error, becomes its chief aggravation.

The state of the mind in holding error, is opposed to that knowledge which is offered as a part of the chief good of human nature; and herein it appears intrinsically evil.

The real happiness of man flourishes in true knowledge, as vegetation in light; and when the intellectual powers do not find their health and satisfaction in the clear path of truth, but rest in some plausible and favorite form of falsehood, "they altogether become unprofitable." We do not mean that any given amount of speculative knowledge is necessary to the existence or the peaceful exercise of a pious faith. We are far from imputing the rise and progress of the life of God in the soul to the working of the speculative reason. Yet we know and must always remember, that the intellectual faculty claims a most important office in the simplest intuitions of pious faith. Hence it is that so many intelligent Christians, like Calvin, judging from their own experience, define faith by the term knowledge; and that the Scriptures inculcate the religion of

faith as a religion of knowledge; "to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." The understanding resorts to the living waters, rejoices in their exhilarating virtue, and even delights to sink the lead with all its line of devout contemplation, into their ocean depths.

But if, by any evil affection, this knowing faculty be turned from the path of truth, the aberration is so much departure from the way of life for man. There must then be a shortcoming in the religious culture, and the harvest of spiritual enjoyment is proportionately lessened. The right operations of reason on the genuine matter of the Christian faith multiply the blessed fruits of that faith in the experience of individuals, and in the social improvement of mankind. Whatever prevents these fruits, deprives the man of his highest and purest happiness in the present, and turns him from the path to his highest glory in the future. It is evil, and only evil continually. No sincerity, no conformity of the reason or the conscience to such a state of the mind can change it from evil to good.

The intuitions of simple faith in all true believers are essentially alike; for the human element in them springs from the same nature in all, and the divine element is from the one Holy Spirit in all. Hence all true Christians agree in those great fundamental truths of our holy religion which are reached by immediate spiritual discernment and not by ratiocination. Now so far as the speculations of reason confound the intuitions of faith, and darken the immediate spiritual vision of divine things, they frustrate the beneficent office of faith, and consign the believer to darkness and distraction. This unavoidable part of the penalty of error, weighs heavily on the Church in her earthly imperfection. It is the want of a free acquiescence of enlightened and active thought in the things which are freely given unto us of God in the Holy Scriptures, and which are spiritually discerned; a lack of lively enjoyment in the convalescence of the understanding from the disorder it has suffered in common with the other faculties of the sinful soul. No man can find in error the joy of intellectual reconciliation to God; a joy which must always increase with the ever deeper and sweeter harmony between right reason and pure faith; but on

the contrary, the most specious falsehood, in the sincerest and most earnest mind, precludes the spiritual joy and peace of believing, and yields only the low and momentary pleasure of a logical satisfaction.

Since then the only harbor for error is a mental depravation which is itself a part of human sin, and opposes the attainment of our highest good, it follows that the sincerest belief of falsehood is only the most deep-rooted and desperate opposition to truth arising from a wicked heart; that exposure to error is an infirmity connected with all sin, that all should recognize this failing in themselves, and make it a matter of daily humiliation and repentance.

Again, that error and wrong doing should be excused on account of sincerity, is forbidden by the nature and office of the law which they violate.

The law of universal order fits every creature to its place, reduces all to system, and makes the universe, as its name imports, a unit. All sin is a transgression of this law of universal order. The transgressor leaves his place in the system. A wheel in the machine is displaced or broken. A member of the body is lost, or forsakes its proper office and usurps another, as if the foot should claim to be the hand, or the hand the eye. Thus man, in his transgression, left his place in the holy ministry of nature, and exalted himself in the pride of his heart, to be as God. The correspondence of things is now impaired. The Creator and the creature no longer live in harmony. If other creatures remain as they were, the fallen creature finds himself in conflict with all; and must both do and suffer violence.

Now, for the suffering arising from this disorder, there is no alleviation in the fullest confidence of sincerity and a good conscience; but whenever men offend against this law of order, they have, in the course of nature, their reward. Agriculture, guided by false views of the laws of vegetation, brings only loss of labor, and disappointment of hope. And neither the loss nor the disappointment finds any relief or compensation in the sincerity or honesty of the mistake. The honest and earnest mechanic, though believing with all his heart that his machine

when finished, will move itself forever, receives, with all his sincerity, the full recompense for his mechanical sin, in the loss of his time and labor, and the mortification of seeing his machine stand still ; and if, in his self-conceit, he hated instruction from the demonstrations of science, and chose to purchase knowledge by prodigal and ruinous experiment, he must drink the full cup of self-reproach and of bitter repentance for his error. If education has been pursued in ignorance or disregard of the laws of the mind, the victim of the mistake, notwithstanding the utmost sincerity, is cast into the prison of his inferior estate, and there, in the failure of aspiring endeavors, in the diminished esteem of his fellows, and the conscious lack of qualifications for usefulness and honor, he must pay the very last mite.

This law of order prevails likewise in the spiritual kingdom, and requires, in every man, the adjustment of thought, feeling and action to his relations. He must love God with all the heart, and his neighbor as himself. To fail in this is to work iniquity ; that is, to violate equity, to disturb the mutual agreement of things. His correction would be a reconciliation, a return to peace. This constitutes the redemption through Christ. The man in his sin finds himself also in misery ; and the faith wrought in the sinner by the Holy Ghost, consists of that mental state which fits the sinner's relations to God and all creatures, which harmonizes with all, prepares the man to enjoy the presence of God, and receive good from all things. But while the discord remains, what can prevent its grating on his ear ? O wretched man that he is, who shall deliver him, though he plead his sincerity, and insist that he verily thought he was doing God service ? Where, in the experience of mankind or the teaching of the Bible, do we find a hint, that a man may hope to escape the penalty of disturbing the spiritual order of the world, because he did the violence in the sincerity of his heart and with a good conscience ?

The experience of the Church is one connected and complete demonstration of what we are endeavoring to show. When one portion of the Church conceives the doctrines of the gospel, and maintains the exercise of the religious life in a con-

fused connexion with dreams of superstition, or with bondage to unprofitable and bewildering forms, there is no refuge from the penalty in the plea of sincerity, or of a conscientious desire to pursue the right ; but long ages of the world bear witness, how a penal degeneracy in the Church has followed her most earnest holding of the truth in such unrighteousness. When another portion works all its warm intuitions of faith into cold propositions of science, makes the kingdom of heaven a mere intellectual structure, and judges of religious character only by the dogmatical test, she receives in her body that recompense of her error which is meet, in the weakened and sundered bond of charity among the members, in grievous alienations and distractions, and in the exposure of "the multitude of sins" which the wars of opinion and passion always nourish, but never hide.

Another portion, with sincere desire to do good, give up all faith in the saving operation of the Spirit under the laws of the covenant of grace, and endeavor to promote the kingdom of God among men by "observation" of the sudden and promiscuous changes which appear in persons under peculiar external circumstances and measures artfully arranged by human device ; and the full penalty of such departure from the way of the Lord is suffered in the long and often final alienation from religion and its ordinances, of multitudes whom a right discipline and culture would have kept in reconciliation with them, and under their sanctifying power ; and in the malformation of religious character in those who make profession of Christian piety. And the consequence is all the worse, the greater the sincerity and confidence with which such deviations are pursued.

The prevailing distractions of the Church are a cause of deep affliction to all pious people who allow themselves to dwell upon them. The one Church, the body of Christ, does not, in her outward form, fairly express her inward unity. All feel the inconsistency between the true theory of Christian unity, and this actual disunion. It is lamented as a reproach to religion. It is a grievous stumbling block to many serious and observant people of the world. Christian people of all sects find

some of the strongest temptations to evil affections in these divisions and rivalries of the Church. These antagonisms hinder the fair exhibition of the gospel, and provoke to the distortion of truth, through zeal for the interest of the sect. They produce confusion in the work of missions. They create immense difficulties in supplying religious instruction to feeble and scattered communities who cannot harmonize in religious faith or worship. And they prevent the formation of a symmetrical religious character in individuals.

Now to inquire into the mental conditions of these divisions seems altogether reasonable, and indeed the bounden duty of those who are mainly responsible for the evil. We are aware of the prevailing disposition to apologize for these sectarian rivalries by referring to the increased energy of the sects in promoting their separate interests, and to the various advantages of mutual emulation; and all the results are accounted as good. There is not due allowance made for the corruption which vitiates all good works provoked in this way. But such apologies are very much weakened by considering the real state of mind in which these divisions originate. And we have accomplished this end when we have gained full possession of the thought that error finds no shelter in the plea of sincerity, and a good conscience.

There is no denomination of Christians on earth whose system of doctrine as a whole is right. The doctrines of each sect seem to itself nearest right; but for any denomination to set up its own system of religious faith and practice as perfect, and incapable of amendment, would shock the Christian sense of propriety in the whole protestant Church. This is one of the arrogant, heaven-daring sins which protestants abhor in the papal Church. There is certainly imperfection in the creed and discipline of every branch of the Church. It is greater, of course, than any one is aware of; although no one is obliged to admit that all the objections of the others against its system are valid; or even that any of them are so in the form in which they are urged. For every objector finds fault with his neighbor's system only in defence of his own. We shall all doubtless see in the clearer light that is coming, that while our views

of truth and rules of discipline may have done us all good service in their way and for the time, still, compared with the absolute standard, they were, like the laws of the Church, gone before us, "laws that were not good and statutes by which we should not live;" and that they were allowed us for the time, and were suited to our case, "on account of the hardness of our hearts." All this must be conceded according to our own protestant principles. We can admit this without detriment to our character and progress. Indeed, it is *one* true mark of a Church of Jesus Christ that we confess error and sin, and look and long for improvement.

It is one of the objects of our foregoing discussion to trace some outlines of that mental state which naturally accompanies our divisions, and indeed, which must now be considered their chief support. We have different views of religious truth. These differences, it is a great part of our study to illustrate and maintain. Great labor is bestowed to make them prominent. In many cases they are exaggerated to extremes. It is no part of our natural tendency to discover and commend the mutual affinities of our sectarian views; but every sect is interested to magnify the diversity; to exaggerate the repugnance between its own and others' doctrine, and make the views of others as abhorrent as possible to the Christian sense of its own members. In this operation the natural stimulants of mutual antagonism are very powerful; and what should be pure Christian zeal, glowing with meek and charitable devotion to the truth and its friends, degenerates at once into the natural spirit of the party.

If the great evil of our sects in the Church be at present incurable, it may, perhaps, be slightly mitigated. At least, the moral sense of Christian people may be quickened to discern the evil, and to disallow it; and we may be spared the mortifying obtrusion of elaborate apologies for disunion, which may be reckoned among the curiosities of protestant literature. For we have heard and read not a little of the advantages of divisions in the Church. Alas, that our Christian spirit is so earthly, that it can taste the stimulus of such low rivalry without disgust. Could we silence some of the excuses which would

make their authors ashamed in the light of a true Christian unity, we should be better prepared to estimate our present imperfections and to consult upon the means of removing them.

With the views above given of the moral quality of conscientious error, we do not honor any man's integrity the more for his swearing by his conscience, nor receive his doctrine the sooner for his swearing by his honest belief. His oath betrays him. His conscience is only an agent of his will. His sincerity is set as the bulwark of his prejudice. He fears for his own weakness, and suspects the approach of some doctrine or usage stronger than his own; and he calls upon his conscience for security instead of asking her guidance to the impregnable fortress of truth. Hence it is that different men can believe opposite doctrines with what they call equal sincerity and follow opposite courses of moral conduct with equal purity of conscience. Their oath shows that their attachment to their practice is not from any impulse of the conscience at all. Neither does their adhesion to an opinion spring at all from the sincerity and earnestness of their minds. But another principle, different entirely from an earnest and humble persuasion of the truth, binds them to their opinion or their usage, with a force which they, under their peculiar circumstances, are unfitted to detect. A dispute between such minds can seldom go on long without personal alienation. Mutual hatred, and not conscientious devotion to the truth, becomes a ruling reason for separation, or if separation already exists, a reason for embittered antagonism.

The separation of Christians from one another for opinion's sake is of the nature of an oath upon one's conscience or honesty. It is a form of asserting a sincere and conscientious belief of a doctrine or obligation to a practice connected with religion. It is refusing for conscience sake to hold fellowship with those who think and speak differently from ourselves on particular points; which points are on all hands conceded as not involving the saving truth of the gospel. It is one of the forms of demanding respect for our opinions, to eschew fellowship with a Christian brother who refuses or hesitates to adopt them. The mental frame at the bottom of this separation is

even more exceptionable than the mere assertion of opinion upon honor or conscience. For men become at once committed and bound to one another to maintain an opinion or a practice as theirs, and to guard it against all exposure to the light which might test its truth or righteousness. They join hands to defend their prejudice. Inquiry is at an end. Their dogma is settled. Nothing further is to be learned. To betray a desire after another argument for the dogma of the sect would provoke suspicion and reproach. Free thought is unsafe. The mind is sold into bondage. The lips can say only Sibboleth, and must never try to pronounce it otherwise. And it forthwith becomes a part of the religious culture, in one view, to hold the members of other sects as aliens, and, in another, to regard them with charity as brethren.

All views of truth and duty must be taken from the position of the sect. The distinguishing dogma must not be looked at by its own advocates from another direction. All the religious teaching must have the sectarian complexion. The Protestant must witness no Catholic worship; the Catholic, no Protestant. The Calvinist must receive no Arminian instruction; the Arminian, no Calvinistic. To approve the proceedings of another sect seems like becoming reconciled to heresy. To prefer the practices or views of another in any particular to our own, would be taken as treachery or apostacy. The rivalry for advancement is rather a mutual opposition, than a mutual incitement to good works; and the gain of the one is commonly viewed as the loss of the other. These phenomena are, indeed, greatly modified by the Christian conscience which more or less prevails throughout; but the remaining depravity of the Christian heart takes great advantage from these sectarian occasions, against the cause of pure truth, and all the good principles of the new man. This condition of the Church can only be viewed as the fruit of her inward infirmity; and it is a condition of organized and strong temptation in which she is prone, rather to excuse or even justify that infirmity, than to deplore and labor to remove it.

Something, therefore, is gained for progress in the right direction, when we give earnest attention to this feature of our

religious state, and to the nature of the evil from which it arises. Beyond all doubt, the present divided condition of the Church is incidental to her progress from the darkness and bondage of an apparently slumbering and stagnant age. It comes from the free motion of the waters of salvation as they flow from the vast lake of medieval inactivity through the rough channel of free but ill regulated thought, towards the brighter and serener clime of the future, where they are again to rest, having deposited all their impurities along their turbulent course. But at present they are certainly dark with earthy matter. The distractions of Protestantism are not of the Father, but of the world. They come from the lusts which war in the members of the Church; and while their appearance may be welcome as a needful discharge from the inward ulcer of sin, and may promise relief in the end, they yet reveal the deep and terrible disorder within. And since all Christians know the law of perfect unity to be holy, and the commandment holy and just and good, this vehement rising of the law of disunion in their members against the law of union in their mind, might seem enough to make the sin of our divisions become exceeding sinful. It will certainly be so as the time of reformation draws near. Let the Church look sometimes at this. Let brethren who lead the flock of Christ turn an occasional and solemn glance at our position, and consider whether these are the still waters beside which the Great Shepherd has ordered his flock to be led. And if the body of Christ has reached the stage of convalescence where this grievous deformity is ready to disappear, it will show the preparation by a growing and mournful sympathy with such reflections as we have here suggested.

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ART. VI.—NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL
FUNCTIONS.

TO FORM correct ideas of ecclesiastical functions it is necessary that we should have correct views of the Church, in the bosom of which they are held and exercised. He who holds false and unsacramental views of the Church, will of course hold the same low and false views of its official functions; for the one is conditioned by the other. Sound sacramental ideas of the Church and the means of grace, are invariably coupled with a high regard for ecclesiastical or churchly functions; but on the contrary, spiritualistic sectarian notions of the Church are always a sure presage of a most reckless disregard of the real, mystical, and sacramental side of Christianity. Such notions do, therefore, not unfrequently stand in connection with a positive denial of the necessity of ecclesiastical functions; practically at least they always come to this radical and unchurchly conclusion in the end. For this reason it becomes necessary, that, in our remarks on the nature and significance of such functions, we keep a steady eye on the relation they sustain to the Church as their proper ground and foundation, in order to show that they simply form the channels through which the Church, as a whole, must come to its specific expression and realization in the world, *as the body of Him that filleth all in all*.

In order to do justice to the official functions of the Church, we must look upon it not as a spiritual abstraction, or as a mechanical outward consociation of parts or members for social and edifying purposes simply, but as a real supernatural constitution, as an organism that has its own peculiar life, bearing in its own bosom the powers of historical evolution and of creating such real and natural functions as may be necessary to bring its saving and redeeming powers to bear upon fallen humanity. The Church is not an unreal, purely spiritual consti-

tution, therefore, but, as its fountain and head, it has both a human and a divine side—the grace, the truth, and the life which are in Jesus are also shed abroad in his members. The incarnation is the normative ground and principle of the Church, and the Church is the historical succession and continuation of this fact for the redemption of all ages to the end of the world. This idea lies too plainly both in the letter and spirit of the gospel to be overlooked by any one, who comes to it free from all constitutional and traditional bigotry, or sectarian bias. Christ, the absolute foundation and head of the Church, is the living and actual embodiment of the fulness of the Godhead. “He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary,” and he is, therefore, truly and emphatically Immanuel—God-with-us—God manifested in the flesh. Christianity, springing as it does from his divine-human person, must always in its life and character remain true to its original type and fountain. It can never go beyond Christ without losing its character and force. It must be the continuous and uninterrupted unfolding and manifestation of the divine-human life and character of the adorable God-man in the bosom of the world. It must have an outward form as well as inward life. Coming from heaven it must at least take up our fallen and depraved nature into its own bosom, for the purpose of redeeming it by its own historical life-process carried forward in the Church, through which it can only come to its proper and full expression in the world as a divine fact for its redemption.

We have said that this idea lay clearly both in the letter and genius of the gospel. We do not consider it necessary to enter largely into quotations of isolated passages for the purpose of establishing this point, but shall rather confine ourselves to the consideration of some of the fundamental ideas, brought clearly to view in reference to it, both by Christ and his Apostles, which seem to form the very basis of its theological scheme and aim. If it can be made to appear that the Church, as a real, actual, supernatural constitution or organism, always present in the world, forms a necessary part of true and evangelical Christianity, and that as such it is the bearer of it, and, therefore, also the bearer of salvation to the world, not so much from iso-

lated passages as from the reigning genius of the gospel, then, it appears to us, the point in question is much more fully and unequivocally established than if based on infinite isolated passages simply, which stand in no such inward and living relation to the general life-stream of historical Christianity. We are, however, not at a loss to find passages in great numbers, which have a direct bearing in this matter, and may be safely taken as a clear interpretation of the general sense of the gospel in reference to this particular point. The gospel throughout clearly and palpably condemns Gnostic, unreal spiritualism on the one side, and Ebionitic, Judaizing rationalism on the other. It rests upon and springs from the incarnate Word, bears throughout the character of a living concrete divine fact—of a Christ-life—of the life, grace and truth of Jesus shed abroad in his members by the Holy Ghost through the Church, which proves to be a most powerful and uncontrovertible argument in favor of the grace-bearing and saving power and significance of the Church *as the body of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth.*

Christ himself always brings his Church to notice in this realistic and sacramental sense. For instance, he represents the vital union subsisting between him and his disciples, under the figure of the vine and its branches, John 15. Now if the mystical union of Christ and his members bears any comparison to the one here noticed, it must at least be real and living; for such emphatically is that of the vine and its branches. But it must necessarily also be formal, and hence it can only come to its full and legitimate expression in the Church. In this position we are borne out not only by the parable just noticed, but by the unmistakable tenor of Christ's own language on other occasions. When Christ entered upon the duties of his office, he first preached *repentance*, assigning as the reason *the kingdom of God being at hand*. This shows at once the true character of the kingdom or the Church of Christ in the world—its objective and subjective—its divine and human—its supernatural and natural character is here already fully and distinctly held forth;—the kingdom of God is at hand in a truly human form, in the person of Jesus who now ordains his apos-

tles and sends them forth to preach repentance, which is nothing less than the renunciation of self on the part of the world with a view to be received into the bosom of the Church, there to rest in and to enjoy the sweets of that objective divine grace manifested in the glorious person of our adorable Redeemer. But he brought out this idea more fully at a later period when he founded his Church upon Peter,* not, it is true, as an isolated and unregenerated individual, but as a living member of the apostolical college and as the bearer and heroic confessor of the divinity of Christ, thus making in fact himself the absolute foundation of the Church, while Peter and the other apostles are but its pillars and organs—its relative foundation and its representatives for all ages to come. As such he commissioned them to *preach*, and to *baptize*, Matth. 28: 19, and gave them power to *loose* and to *bind*, Matth. 18: 18; to *remit* and to *retain* sins, John 20: 23, assuring them, at the same time, that, what was thus done on earth, should be ratified in heaven. He declared that all power in heaven and on earth was given unto him, and that, as the living Father had sent him, so would he send them, adding the promise that he would be with them *all days*, even to the end of the world. Here, then, we have not a bald, arbitrary, divine commission *from* Christ to the Church, but the promise of his actual uninterrupted presence *in* the Church; and he actually communicates divine powers and authority to the Church and commands that they shall be used and exercised in his name, for the purpose of making all nations his disciples, and partakers of his grace. And this is but a single instance of Christ's direct and positive teachings,

* This has nothing to do with the primacy of Peter, as this is held by the Church of Rome; for the mere fact that the Church has, in a certain sense, been founded upon him, as the living heroic confessor of the divinity of Christ, does not necessarily require that his primacy should either be transferable, or that it has actually been transferred, particularly to the bishop of Rome. The popish theory is not based upon satisfactory historical data, but the actual history of the Church flatly contradicts its exclusive claims, and leaves ample room for a more liberal interpretation of the sacred text. It is, however, equally clear, on the other hand, that violence is done to it by that Protestant theory, which separates the confession of Peter altogether from his person and builds the Church upon it, in purely abstract and spiritual style. This interpretation is as arbitrary and unsatisfactory as the one noticed before, and for this reason it has long since been given up as untenable by the best Protestant commentators.

among many others of the same character and type, by which we come to a correct knowledge of the supernatural character and significance of the Church as the bearer of grace and salvation to the world. His teachings are throughout churchly and sacramental. He is in and with the Church; there he makes men his office-bearers, works faith by the Holy Ghost through the gospel, and confirms that faith by the sacraments; and therefore the Church naturally becomes the pillar and ground of the truth.

And that this is the true sense and interpretation of Christ's own language in reference to this point, is clear, from the practice and teachings of the apostles, who are the infallible organs and interpreters of the glorious truths which they received directly from the Master's lips. They never turned the sacred trust thus committed to their hands into sheer spirit—into purely abstract spiritual notions and whims. Both their teachings and their practice, as we have them recorded in the New Testament, are of the churchly and sacramental stamp. It comes to view in all their transactions. They did not point the inquiring multitude directly to Christ, without the Church and the means of grace, after the fashion of our modern sects; but baptism was held and imposed as necessary for the remission of sins, and as of deep and mysterious significance as a badge and laver of regeneration to the believing subject—the vehicle and medium of the Holy Ghost—the putting on of Christ himself. The sermon of Peter on the day of Pentecost, the conversion of Cornelius, the baptism of the jailor at Philippi and that of Lydia the seller of purple, and numerous other cases of the same character, bear ample testimony of the truth of this assertion. The apostles everywhere clearly and unhesitatingly teach the necessity of being sacramentally and formally united with Christ through baptism, as the rite of incorporation into his body, the Church. It is called the washing of regeneration, the washing away of sins, Titus 3: 5, which shows that it was considered of real significance in the bosom of the Church, as a grace-bearing sacrament—as the sign, seal and bearer of the covenant grace of Christ. And the Church of course was considered the only

proper and legitimate medium through which this grace can be brought to bear on the world, and in whose bosom this holy rite can be lawfully administered, wherefore the apostles call it the house of God, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone, (Eph. 2; 20;) the pillar and ground of the truth, (1 Tim. 3: 15,) through which the manifold wisdom of God shall be made known to powers and principalities in heavenly places, Eph. 3: 10. No disobedience or unbelief is to be tolerated in the bosom of this divine institution, but she must teach, exhort, reprove, correct; she must bind and loose, and whosoever will despise her counsel and authority shall be to her as an heathen man, and a publican, Matth. 18: 17. The exercise of such power and authority is "for delivering up such an one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus," 1 Cor. 5: 5. This shows plainly that the exercise of the keys was considered of real meaning as regards the salvation of the offender. What was done was done in Christ's name and by virtue of his divine commission, being fully confident and assured, that, what was thus done on earth, should be approved and ratified in heaven. It never entered into the mind of the apostles that the Church might in any sense, or at any period of her history be placed on the same level with heathen theocracies, or that its voice should not be listened to with more regard than that of "Delphi or Dodona." Whatever elements of sin and error entered into it as regards its actual and human side, it was still held to be the pillar and ground of the truth, the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, thus holding fast the promise, "And, lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." And he that would have preached "another gospel," or denied the supernatural mystery thus held up as an object of faith would have been denounced as "anathema," or as "a liar."

And as the apostles are the infallible organs and interpreters of the true sense and meaning of the Saviour's language, so succeeding ages may serve at least as a key to the sure solution of the whole fact, as it has been revealed by Christ and interpreted by his apostles. Every age is but the growth of

the one that preceded it—the more full expression of its significance, its prophecies and tendencies. For this reason succeeding ages must always be taken as a sure key to the true position and mind of those which preceded them, as well in the history of the Church as in that of the world. Christianity is a historical life process. Starting in and flowing from the person of the God-man it is, objectively considered, perfect as he himself is perfect; but as regards its subjective historical realization in the world, it is necessarily subject to a process of growth or evolution after the fashion of the mustard seed, and the leaven. Its process must be living, organic, historical. It must enter into the world's consciousness and life, to deliver it from the consequences of sin, and from all the power of the devil. The process must be from a lower to a higher stadium of perfection, until it end "in a new heaven and a new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness." Accordingly the age which succeeded that of the apostles, is the legitimate succession, the organic growth and historical manifestation of the true theological sense and mind of the age that gave it birth, and for this simple reason it is a sure historical criterion of the same. All here seems to be in favor of the mystical and sacramental idea of the Church, proving this to be the faithful continuation simply of what the apostles had established from the start, as the norm and ground of the Church for all ages to come. The incarnation is the ground on which the Church firmly established itself from the beginning. It brought the natural and the supernatural, the divine and the human into living concrete union, both in Christ and in the Church. It repudiated and condemned dualism, and held fast to the mystery of God manifested in the flesh, of which the Church was held to be the bearer. Not only the writings of the fathers as such; but the voice of its confessors, the testimony of its martyrs, the decrees of its Councils, the order of its creeds, the manner and spirit of its worship—all show that the mind and character of the early Church lay plainly in this direction, and that such was the order of its faith from the days of the apostles down to the Nicene period, and the days of Augustine. The conflict which the Church sustained in those early days

with the reigning sects and heresies of the age, must be taken as a sure key to its true theological position and mind. It battled against a false christology on the one side, and a false anthropology on the other. Its concern was moreover not merely to settle the proper divinity or humanity of Christ over against open infidelity, or against heretical tendencies in this direction; but the hypostatical union of the two natures in the one living concrete person of the God-man entered also largely into its deep and earnest theological struggles. It was not satisfied with the confession simply that Christ was very God and very man, unless these two natures were suffered to come to a living concrete union through the incarnation, and thus allowed to constitute but one person and one life. And of course by this faith in Christ, which made proper account of the divine and the human, the supernatural and the natural, in their living concrete union, the faith of the early Christians in the Church and its functions was conditioned. They made proper account of the objective, mystical and sacramental as lodged in and sacredly kept by the Church, which was of course always held to be mystically and sacramentally wedded to Christ, its spiritual head and fountain. The Apostles' Creed, which constituted the *regula fidei*, the standing symbolical norm of the faith of the early Church, proves this beyond the least shadow of a doubt. This, as might be expected, makes Christ the objective and absolute ground of our salvation, but not in an abstract and ideal sense—it makes the Church the medium of our union with Christ—the channel and bearer of his grace and Spirit. It is in the Church, according to the Creed, that the Holy Ghost works faith and nourishes it. It is in her bosom only that we come to full communion with God and with each other, as members of his mystical body. It is here that we are made partakers of all Christ's benefits, and that we obtain the heartfelt assurance of the remission of our sins, of the resurrection of the body, and of life everlasting. The Creed has no sympathy with evangelical radicalism in any form. It is throughout churchly and sacramental. Christianity, according to it, as the real actual embodiment and historical succession of the Word made flesh, can only come to its legitimate ex-

pression and final completion through the Church. Outside of this sacred and divine institution the faith of the early Christians found no home, and no foundation to rest upon, and this fact, therefore, gives us an insight into their general theological mind and consciousness. From this source sprung the high regard for ecclesiastical functions ; the fear of its authority ; the dread of its anathemas and bans ; the veneration of its confessors, martyrs, and sacred relics ; the longing after its prayers and intercessions which we find already prevalent in the days of Polycarp and Ignatius. This also shows why the early Christians had such a strong desire to be in its communion ; to enjoy its privileges ; to bow at its altars ; to worship in its temples ; and to sit under the droppings of its heavenly oracles—“ *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*”

We might still proceed further and show, that the Church in succeeding ages, particularly the Reformation of the sixteenth century, rests here on the same theological basis and is substantially of the same mind with the early Church,—holding the Church to be a divine supernatural constitution, always present in the world in a human form, bearing divine grace and salvation—regarding its official functionaries as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the *mysteries* of God. The history of Luther, and the Reformers generally, is of no uncertain sound as regards this matter, and the fact that the Creed formed the theological basis of the Reformation, and that it was formally embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism, is sufficient evidence to convince us, that Protestantism, in the hands of the Reformers, was not exactly as bald and unhistorical as some champions of evangelical orthodoxy, at the present day, would fain make us believe ; but that it was simply the redemption or historical emancipation of the general life-stream of Christianity as this stood before, the carrying it forward to a higher state of existence, in, however, truly historical and conservative style. But we have sufficiently digressed to show that the Christian world from the beginning held and believed the Church to be a divine supernatural constitution—the body of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth, as Paul calls it—always present in the world, and possessing power to redeem and

save it ; and we are now prepared to proceed to the consideration of its official functions.

The Church, then, as a divine fact and supernatural constitution in the world, must have a real historical basis to rest upon, to be of any real significance for the world's redemption. We are told that Christ is its foundation ; but so are the apostles and prophets, at least in a relative point of view. It is not built upon abstract doctrines or bald spiritual notions and influences, but upon living personalities and actual official functionaries—on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ of course being the chief corner-stone. Ecclesiastical functions, consequently, belong to the general scheme and plan of salvation, and they are absolutely necessary to bring the world-embracing significance of Christianity to its proper specific aim and completion. Apostles, prophets, and evangelists ; pastors and teachers, and other office-bearers were given, not by the arbitrary will and pleasure of Christ, or his apostles ; but they must rather be considered the legitimate and necessary organs of some particular phase or aspect of the living supernatural fact with which they stand in connection, as this comes to view in the living body and organism of the Church, for the purpose of accomplishing some particular end in the way of human redemption. We must never forget, that the Church is an organism—a living supernatural fact—a body having living members, possessing different capacities and gifts, all, however, of the same spirit, and for the same general purpose and end. Whatever its official functions may be as regards their name and form, in order to be of any account, or of any constitutional right and aim, they must stand in connection, in a real and living way, with the general organism and life of the Church as a whole. They are given, Paul tells us, “for the perfecting of the saints ; for the work of the ministry ; for the edifying of the body of Christ,” that we be henceforth no more tossed to and fro like children by every wind of doctrine, but that we may come to the unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. We have nothing to do here, then with any particular form of Church

polity, as this may have prevailed, or may now prevail, in the Church, whether it be Anglican Episcopacy, or Baptistie Independency, whether it be of Geneva, or of Rome; neither do we intend to enter into a lengthy and full discussion of particular offices and functions in the Church. Our aim is to vindicate their historical necessity and significance in a general and summary way only, with a view to turn the whole subject in the end to some practical account. The Church as an organism—a living, supernatural, historical fact—is not necessarily confined to the narrow pipe-stem of any particular form of government. It may come to its specific official expression in different forms, provided such forms grow out of its own legitimate life and constitution, and have some real meaning in its general organism and mission. Yet this comprehensive and liberal view of its official character, in its proper churchly and sacramental style, is something very different from that cold indifferentism, that heartless latitudinarianism which makes no account of ecclesiastical, priestly functions, and turns Christianity into a Gnostic vision or figment of the brain. It makes no merit of avoiding Scylla, the more certainly and ingloriously to perish in Charybdis. It avoids both rock and whirlpool, and strives after the full apprehension and exercise of the principle of liberty, in union with that of lawful authority.

Planting ourselves firmly on this broad and elevated platform of ecclesiastical polity, we may easily discover its fundamental lines and marks by the aid of which we may come to a correct knowledge of its general design and specific aim. If we cast a glance at the general life-stream of its history, these characteristic traits come clearly and fully to view, which seem to form the main and fundamental factors of its life and onward progress in the world—Doctrine, Life or Grace, and Law or Discipline—corresponding to the threefold office of Prophet, Priest and King; they constitute the ground pillars of the real side of Christianity, as this comes to its proper churchly, mystical, and sacramental realization in the bosom of the world's history, by way of human agency and mediation. All the official functions of the Church must, consequently, have reference to one or the other of these fundamental or constituent

and elementary principles, and in their corporate capacity to them all combined. The idea of unity here must form both scale and compass for the proper solution of the idea of a Church polity, which may embody these three elementary factors in perfect keeping with the free and normal exercise of each and every one of them, in their separate and independent capacity. Only then when we shall have such unity in diversity, and diversity in unity—when these characteristic and fundamental traits of evangelical, churchly, and historical Christianity shall be fully developed, in this comprehensive and normal style—only then will we come “to the unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God; after the fulness of the measure of the stature of Christ.” In Christ they are united—he is both Prophet, Priest and King, and each of these offices comes to its full and normal expression in his mediatorial character. Christianity must be the real actual embodiment of the life and character of Christ, to carry out, normally, the idea and aim of the incarnation—it must be prophetic, priestly and kingly in its character—it must teach, nourish, and govern in order to perfect the saints, and to edify the body of Christ; and wherever one of these official traits is made unduly prominent, Christianity is developed in a correspondingly one-sided and abnormal style.

Doctrine seems, however, naturally to come first, as regards order and time; but as regards their importance as integral parts of the general economy of the Church, they seem to be of equal significance and use. Christ commissioned his disciples first to preach the gospel, and then to baptize and to exercise the keys, thus, proceeding in a manner in perfect harmony with the wants of mankind, he brought out these three ruling factors of Christian history in their legitimate and normal relation, as the fundamental ideas of all true Church polity.

We have said that doctrine comes first in order and that this order corresponds fully with the actual wants of our race—we need but refer to the longings and sighs of mankind, in their uncovenanted and unregenerated state, to make this point clear to the reader. These longings and sighs Christianity must

satisfy, since Christ came to save and to redeem the world, and his Church must be the historical continuation and fulfilment of all that is necessarily comprehended and grounded in Christ its head—the source and fountain of the world's redemption. It dare not destroy the natural powers of man, nor ignore his wants and longings, especially as far as these are a sure indication of the original state of our fallen nature. In order to become the living source and medium of the world's redemption, it must take it up into its own bosom, satisfy its longings, supply its wants, deliver it of its miseries, and communicate to it that support and grace, that divine life and truth revealed in Christ the Logos—the Word made flesh. Hence the necessity first to teach; for the world evidently lies in spiritual darkness and ignorance—a dark and dreary gloom is brooding over the human mind in spiritual matters, and men are alienated from the knowledge of the true God and the relation they sustain to him as responsible beings—we of course mean the Pagan world as we find it outside of the Church, or beyond the influences of true religion altogether. Among such people we generally find deep and wide-spread moral degradation, and spiritual ignorance and superstition—having either no knowledge at all of the true God, or holding the most absurd and ridiculous notions of his character and will. Yet the desire for truth and light, and the longing after “wisdom,” is as universal as the moral degradation and spiritual ignorance of mankind, and we find the mediums of such light or knowledge “in every clime and every land.” All have their oracles; their pretended revelations; their sorceries, magic, soothsayings—their pretended communications with hidden wisdom in some way, whether this be by the movement of planets, of clouds, of birds, or from the entrails of animals slain for sacrifice, and the mouth of living oracles, prophets and teachers—whether it be from gods or from devils. This seeking after wisdom is founded on truth, though that truth may be perverted or turned into a wrong channel; and hence the Church must necessarily be pedagogic to deliver the world from the shackles of heathen ignorance and superstition—it must teach, and, as the Saviour did, it must speak as never *man* spake—it must preach the

gospel to every creature and make known the manifold wisdom of God to the world. The Church here holds the same relation to the yet unregenerated and unenlightened world that Christ holds to it—the relation of prophet or teacher. The whole counsel and will of God as regards our salvation, is, through it, prophetically and pedagogically revealed and communicated to the world, as it was first comprehended and manifested in Christ. The prophetic office in the Church is consequently necessary to give expression to the pedagogic feature of the gospel, and to satisfy one of the deepest and most general wants of mankind—the desire after the knowledge of the true God and the plan of salvation. The idea of doctrine, of teaching, and of instruction is fundamental to all religion, but more particularly to that of Christ; and Christ gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers for the purpose of bringing the whole body of the Church to unity in the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God. And as long as this work is not fully accomplished, as long as there is yet spiritual ignorance and error in the world, so long the prophetic office is needed in the Church and the commission to preach the gospel to every creature, is still in force.

But it would be false and contrary to the general design of the gospel to develop this feature of its polity, its prophetic or doctrinal character, in an unduly prominent or altogether separate capacity, since it forms but one of the characteristic factors or fundamental ideas of a normally and fully developed Christian Cultus. Christianity is not only doctrine, but it is also emphatically life and spirit, law and precept, and the sacerdotal and regal functions are just as necessary as the prophetic for the full and final completion of its mission. A one-sided doctrinal view of the Church, or of Christianity, would be just as unsatisfactory to the wants of humanity, as it would be false and injurious to the idea of a universal world-redeeming power in the gospel; for man longs after reconciliation with God as much as after light and truth. There exists a general consciousness of sin, of guilt, of separation from God, and a desire to be again restored to his favor by the interven-

tion of priestly functions and the offering up of sacrifices. This consciousness and the desire to be reconciled, we have said, are universal, and that such is the case, is clear from the fact that they come to view in all pagan ideas of religion, and in all the forms of their worship. And as this consciousness is based on truth and the desire of redemption or reconciliation, is grounded in the very nature of man, true religion must direct them into their proper channel and carry them forward to that degree of spiritual freedom and deliverance, after which the world is prophetically longing. This is emphatically the mission and aim of Christianity. Its character and scheme is catholic, in the fullest sense of the term, not only as regards its universal spread in the world, outwardly considered, but also as regards its redeeming and sanctifying powers in the way of inward historical growth and emancipation from all the powers and consequences of sin, which process shall only be finally completed "when this mortal shall put on immortality," and when there shall be "a new heaven and a new earth, in which dwelleth righteousness." The idea of reconciliation—"remission of sins"—is fundamental to all religion, and more particularly to that of Christ. It entered largely into the Saviour's own ministrations, and also into those of his apostles. It forms the necessary counterpart and complement of repentance, which would prove to be a prodigious farce in the absence of true evangelical remission or absolution. The Son of man, therefore, has power to *forgive* sin, and in order to make Christianity, or the Church, a full and faithful expression of what was thus comprehended in Christ, this power must be embodied, in some form, in its general organism and polity, for the benefit of all succeeding generations—it must have its priestly as well as its prophetic functions, in order that it may not only reveal but also apply the grace, the truth, and the merits of Jesus to a dying world.

These two fundamental ideas of a full and normal Christian Cultus complete themselves, by the exercise of the regal function, in the idea of law and discipline. Without law there can be neither doctrine, nor life—it forms the ground and foundation of them both. Doctrine is a law to itself, and so is life,

since all life exists and develops itself according to the law of life. It enters also deeply into the construction of the human mind, and constitutes the *sine qua non* of all logic. Without it there can be no consciousness of right and wrong, of moral responsibility or sin, and Paul tells us, therefore, that without the law there is no sin. Yet this consciousness—the consciousness of guilt—we find all the world over, and the fear of penalties connected with it. All pagan religions are governed by it; it enters largely into all heathen worship, and they show a universal willingness to submit to the most severe disciplinary rules, and penitential requirements. In fact the idea of right and wrong—of good and evil—of truth and error—of rewards and punishments, must govern or rule the actions of all rational beings, however degraded they may be, and this idea must consequently come to its legitimate expression, in the life and conduct of men, according to some fixed and well defined principle to constitute them moral and religious beings. Christianity, whose aim it is to conduct the world to the highest pinnacle of moral and religious perfection, and to deliver it from all the elements and consequences of sin, must necessarily make provision for the full and normal exercise of lawful authority, in order to bring its labors in the sphere of Christian knowledge and grace thus to their proper and final completion. The Church must govern and rule as well as teach and reconcile. She must bring her members—their faith and life—under proper disciplinary restrictions for the purpose of developing and controlling them. She must accommodate herself thus to the wants and longings of mankind as these are expressed in the general life and history of our race, and become a law unto the world for the real and actual fulfilment of the world's own prophetic sighs and longings after a kingdom, in which dwells righteousness and peace.

We need but little acquaintance with the New Testament Scriptures to know, that all the official functions of the apostolic Church had reference to these three fundamental parts or ideas of ecclesiastical polity. The apostles, being the infallible organs of the Holy Ghost and the pillars of the Church, had of course necessarily the care of the whole body of Chris-

tians and their office embraces all the other ecclesiastical offices and functions, forming thus the normative ground of all such functions in its bosom for all ages to come. They were, however, not teachers only, but pastors and rulers. They preach the gospel, which was made their primary duty, but they also baptized by divine right and commission, and required that all things should be faithfully observed that Christ had commanded. Their office was threefold in its character, as that of Christ himself—pedagogic, sacerdotal, and regal, exercising prophetic, priestly, and kingly functions; and in order to make their office of lasting historical significance to the Church, it must be continued, in this threefold character, in some real and human form, *all days even to the end*. This idea lies clearly in the purport and aim of the apostolic commission, and whatever may be our ideas of apostolic succession, as regards its particular form and mode, it must embody these three constituent factors in the general construction of its polity to do justice to Christianity as a whole, and to meet the wants of our unenlightened and unregenerated nature. History bears us out in this position. Those officers which were associated with the apostles and who were solemnly inducted into office by them, exercised these different functions, whether their calling had reference to the Church generally, or to individual congregations only—they were the teachers, pastors, and rulers of the flock. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, show that Christ's commission was thus understood and unhesitatingly put into practice by the Apostolic Church—prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, bishops, elders—all exercised either the one or the other of these functions, without, however, altogether excluding the exercise of the others, since the idea of a general priesthood among Christians makes it necessary to have the three always united, although the one or the other may be particularly prominent in this or that particular functionary, for the purpose of serving this or that particular end.

This threefold office, exercised in this legitimate and normal style, will develop the three cardinal virtues of our holy religion—Faith, Hope, Charity.

As regards faith we do not take the word here in its purely subjective sense and significance, but in its wider range of objective truth, as this starts in Christ and flows on, by historical succession and growth, in the bosom of the Church. The obligation and authority to teach implies the possession of the truth and the power of communicating it. The truth has evidently been committed to the Church, since, without this sacred deposit it would sink to the level of a mere human organization, and its apostolic commission would be turned into solemn mockery and sham; for this is evidently intended to constitute the Church the bearer and channel of divine truth with a view to bring this to its full and final revelation, in the way of historical process, for the benefit and light of the world; and the promise of Christ's continual presence to the end of the world shows plainly, that the commission itself is likewise of an unimpeachable and uninterrupted character. The safety of the sacred trust is guaranteed by the promise of the Saviour's own real and uninterrupted presence, who is himself in and with his Church as an imperishable rock and power of salvation. The Church is the medium and source of a living fund of divine truth to the world, the instrument through which Christ communicates the manifold wisdom of God and brings all nations to the unity in the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God. By the exercise of the prophetic functions this fund of objective truth is formally present to the world, as it has first been developed in the subjective consciousness of the Church itself. It is both positive and negative in its bearings. It exercises a determining influence on the development of its own subjective consciousness and life, as well as on the character and life of the world wherever this is brought under its influences and control, and it constitutes, therefore, the lever and channel of the world's onward progress in the knowledge of divine things.

This faith, this Christian self-consciousness and apprehension of the truth, in its course of historical evolution and growth, becomes hope,—it is a longing after a higher, better and more perfect state—it is the expectation of things already realized, but not yet fully possessed. Both our faith and our knowledge

are but in part, and we see but darkly as through a glass. Our apprehension both of Christ and of the Church, is at best but very limited, and we have not yet come to that degree of perfection of which we are capable and to which we are destined. But our knowledge may increase and our faith may grow stronger—"we live in hope." This, however, must not be understood to refer to individuals only, in their separate and isolated capacity, but to the Church as a whole, in its organic and historical sense; for as such it stands in need of the same living process. It comes to its full and final completion only by degrees. It does not at once fully comprehend its own character and mission, but its self-consciousness and a full and clear sense of its significance and mission will only be gradually developed in its bosom. The Church in its infancy was not exactly what it is now, or even what it has been in the days of the Reformation. In life and substance of course it is always the same, but not in form and nature. It is not an institution fixed and finished from the start, but a living supernatural constitution which increases in "wisdom, stature, and in favor with God and man," as its living fountain and head did. Being directly instituted by Christ and having received from him divine wisdom and truth, it occupied in the beginning a hostile position over against all that did not come directly from this same source—against the *profane*. But the exclusive style in which this zeal for its own sanctity was carried out, proves that the full extent of its mission was not then clearly understood. It excluded much that came legitimately within the compass of its historical process and aim, and which is now generally admitted and understood as necessarily belonging to its living onward progress and existence in the world. Its strong lines of demarkation between the *profane* and the *holy* were only gradually obliterated and overcome, and it only by degrees began to contemplate its own divine character and life not as a power simply, standing over and above the world, but as a spiritual cosmos, as a supernatural fact entering leaven-like into the world's own life and history, for the purpose of sanctifying and redeeming it. This gave a wider range to the consciousness of the Church, and a new impulse to the prosecution of its work. It looked forward not simply to the conver-

sion of all nations, but to the fulness of its own sanctified stature and life, and the deliverance of the whole world from the curse of sin, by way of inward growth and transformation, ending finally in the full and complete overthrow of all profanity and sin. Its course, from the beginning, has been steadily onward. Its faith grew and increased, and its hope was not made ashamed. But its race is not yet fully run, and its course is not yet fully ended. We live still in hope, and only then will our faith and hope come to their final and glorious fruition, when they shall both end in uninterrupted and heavenly charity.

Charity, therefore, is truly the greatest of the three, and it shall abide when the others shall pass away. For this reason it must deeply and broadly enter into all true religion. It forms a fundamental principle of the Jewish economy, and it may consequently be expected to be still more prominent in the religion of Christ. It entered largely into its original history and life. Love to God and love to man forms its ruling principle, nay, its very life and substance. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that all who would believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. In Christ we have, accordingly, the realization and manifestation of the love of God to man, making provision in him for the salvation of the world as a gift of free grace. But he is also the fountain of man's love to God, and to "one another." His glorified person is the source of a new life—of a new creation, which is mutual and reciprocal in its effects. It comes from God to man, and rests and makes its abode in man, and through man it returns again to God. It is the marriage of the supernatural with the natural, of the ideal with the real, of man with God, in sweet, living and abiding union. The incarnation is not simply of passing and temporary significance, but it forms the very centre of the world's history, and embraces both the past and the future, as the actual fulfilment of the prophecies and tendencies of the one, and the living source and channel of the outward progress of the other. The history of the past was flowing steadily onward to find at last a living centre in the mystery of God manifested in the flesh, from which mysterious source it might then flow through all succeeding ages, as a

stream of living water—as the actual and real continuation of the incarnate Word, uniting all generations with God and with each other as but *one* “peculiar people,” having but *one* Lord, *one* God and Father of all, *one* faith and *one* baptism. As Christ and the Father are one so shall also his disciples be one in him, by which it shall be shown to the world that the Father has sent him. In view of the deep and world-wide significance of Christianity, therefore, the Saviour declared that he gave a new command to his disciples—the commandment of love. The discipline of the Church was made to have particular reference to it. It was intended, not simply to regulate the moral deportment of its members. Its authority extended much further, and its meaning was of a much wider range—its aim was unity in faith and in practice, brought about not by the force of objective law and authority altogether, but by the full and spontaneous unfolding and action of the principle or law of love, as this comes to its subjective realization in the world through the Church.

But as this is the final fruition and fulfilment of faith and hope—the last and greatest of the three cardinal virtues of the religion of Christ—it may be necessary to consider more particularly its practical bearings, in a real and tangible way, as it comes to view by acts of mercy. Charity, as we have already seen, is fundamental to the Christian religion, and it has, therefore, from the beginning, been entitled to its own peculiar official functions in the Church. The office of deacons and deaconesses was established by the apostles, with direct reference to its practical or benevolent purposes. Persons of both sexes—“full of the Holy Ghost,” were appointed by the Church and set apart by the laying on of the hands of the apostles, to minister to the wants of the needy. Such offices existed already in the Jewish Church, and the apostles ministered to the wants of the poor before the appointment of particular officers for that purpose. The object of the appointment was not to call the office into existence, but to give new scope to its principle and to make its charitable purposes more practicable, and available, by giving it into the hands of special functionaries. As far as the necessity of the office was concerned it was found-

ded in the wants and state of society ; these wants must be satisfied, and society must be redeemed, and as Christ came into the world to accomplish this end, he made charity the ultimate law of his people, which is to be carried forward in the bosom of the Church as a real god-send to the nations, and as the crowning glory of the grand, triumphant progress of the gospel in the destruction of human selfishness. The self-denying and self-sacrificing spirit of Christian charity moved the infant Church to a community of goods, which, though it did not rob its members of their individual possessions and rights, yet induced them voluntarily to place all they had into the apostles' hands, whenever there was any occasion or necessity of such general liberality or sacrifice. In those early days the temporal and physical as well as the spiritual wants of humanity were made the object of the special agency and liberality of the Church. Both males and females were engaged officially in the good work. They visited the sick, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, wiped away the tears of the bereaved widow, took care of the helpless orphan—they were angels of mercy to a miserable and dying world. Both friends and foes were the objects of their ministering care. They blest when the world cursed, and this gave a peculiar charm and superhuman force to their faith and influence in the world. All this was done in the name of religion and by the direct agency of the Church, in order to bring the all subduing principle of the love of Christ to bear upon the world through the instrumentality of his people, showing practically its official right and claim in the polity of the Church, and making it forever the duty of the same to foster its heavenly principles and prosecute its glorious work. That the Church, in its present state, makes but very limited provisions for charitable purposes, or that it has neglected this part of its mission for many ages, is no argument against the necessity, or against the legitimate existence of such a function in its bosom. It only shows there is a falling away here from the original character and design of Christianity, a neglect of a very important part of its mission or work, and that, in proportion to the extent of this apostacy and neglect, it will sooner or later be obliged to retrace

its steps in order to bring its mission to its full and final completion.

Viewed from this stand-point, the Church presents an awfully grand and interesting spectacle. It goes forth in the persons of weak and fallible men as its office-bearers, and exercises, through them, prophetic, priestly, and kingly functions, thus working faith, hope, charity—creating a radical and grand revolution in all the social, political, moral, and religious relations of society. Nowhere do we find an institution bring about such prodigious and world-embracing results by such means, and in such style. The triumphs of the Cross are more noble than the trophies of the Cæsars, and more illustrious than the exploits of Alexander. What is the pomp and glory of Felix, or the “wisdom” of the Athenians, compared with the moral heroism of Paul? Hercules himself dare not enter the list with the humblest martyr or confessor of Jesus, and all the sages of pagan Greece and Rome are totally eclipsed by the glorious galaxy of Christ’s humble and faithful witnesses, which has ever adorned the ecclesiastical heavens. It is true, the elements of sin and error entered largely into its process, as regards its actual or human side, and it seemed at times as if Christ had withdrawn his saving presence, for which reason some despise its counsel and scorn its voice. But this only proves the short sightedness of man—the finite scope of his spiritual vision; for the fact that sin entered into the historical process of the Church is no argument against, but rather in favor of the divine character of its constitution and voice. To redeem and sanctify fallen humanity, it had to take it up, with all its sins, weaknesses and errors, into its own bosom and life, and no one, who is not either ignorant or blind, will deny that the moral and spiritual corruption of mankind was deep and universal. The greatest wonder is, that it was not, under the circumstances, entirely borne away by the immense tide of moral and spiritual corruption and darkness, which rushed upon it from all sides, but that it triumphantly stayed its angry waves, and turned the course of history into its own channel. Notwithstanding all its sins and errors, it soon became the channel and bearer of all true progress—of all social, political,

moral and religious amelioration. It has reconstructed and moulded the disorganized elements of society, and brought its confused mass into order and symmetry—it has matured and ushered in a new era of political and moral freedom—it has given laws and liberty to the world—it laid the axe to the root of all tyranny and despotism by making all one in Christ—it has enlightened, moralized, and christianized public opinion—it has given faith, hope, and charity to the world—it has been a messenger of peace and gladness to the world amid all its dread and direful sufferings and wants;—surely its voice has been *good news* to the afflicted, the weary, the heavy laden, the sick, the dying, the captive—and all this while it was itself weak in form and in stature, and while the world and the gates of hell conspired for its destruction! This is the strongest evidence that its resources are above nature, and that Christ has never denied it his special presence and care. Who can sit at the feet of its history and carefully watch the heavings of its steady onward progress, without discovering the footprints of the God-man—the constant bubbling of his divine-human life—the actual, gradual, and historical development of the character, life, acts, thoughts, spirit, and love of Christ in his members, through the miraculous power and operation of the Holy Ghost? And who would, therefore, deliberately dare to place the voice of the Church, at any period of her history, on the same level with pagan oracles, and her office-bearers in the same category with the priests of Delphi, or Dodona? All right and serious religious feeling rebels against such a wholesale and sweeping denial of the divinity and authority of the voice of the Church, on account of its errors and sins. It does not deny the existence of such sins and errors—as these must necessarily always enter into its process in the world—but it does not ignore the supernatural fact, the divine grace and life which lies back of all such human weakness and sin. Weak vessels are the bearers of God's grace and peace to the world—“*Errare est humanum.*”

And now, for the purpose of turning this whole subject to some practical account, for the benefit of our own age and day, we shall add a few thoughts, for serious reflection, by way of conclusion.

1. The present state of Protestantism* is one sided—it seems to be too prominently doctrinal in its character, and too extremely radical and unchurchly in its tendencies. It makes too little account of the objective, the mystical and sacramental in the Church, at least in any real sense, and turns the whole subject into a process of subjective reason and common sense. It does not seem to stand on the same ground here with the early Church, which believed that it might understand; or even with the Reformation of the sixteenth century which made faith, in its proper mystical and sacramental sense, the ground of its standing or falling Church, but it has entirely reversed the rule, and all must now be fully understood before it is entitled to our faith. The idea of authority is, of course, considered altogether out of date, at least as far as it transcends the bounds of a mere moral corrective in the way

* It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remark, that, speaking of Protestantism, we have reference only to its present extreme radical and unchurchly tendencies, leaving its original and proper conservative churchly and sacramental character altogether out of the question, at least as far as censure is concerned. And we shall show, in the proper place, that, whatever we may find necessary to say against its most radical and dangerous tendencies at the present day, is not intended to disparage its proper merits, but rather to warn it against impending danger, and to bring it to a proper consciousness of the solemnity of its mission. The present age is fraught with deep and earnest theological struggles, which refer particularly to the nature and significance of the Church, and which, on that very account, are the more earnest and solemn. Protestantism has already come in for its full share of severe trials, and God only knows whether a worse day still will not soon be coming. And let it be remembered that its severest trials must now, from the very nature of the case, refer to its own life—the very marrow and bone of its existence. The question has not yet been fully solved, whether it will be able to maintain itself over against the radical and infidel tendencies every where at work in its bosom, and hence now is the time when the solution of this solemn problem will become a question of life and death, to the whole Protestant Church. Its danger does evidently not lie in the direction of Rome, as much as in the opposite extreme of religious radicalism, or open unbelief. Even admitting that there are Romanizing tendencies at work in some parts of the Protestant Church, yet the danger is comparatively small, if compared with that which lies in the opposite direction. It is not at all probable that evangelical Christendom, at this advanced period of its history, will very easily be allured into the arms of the Pope—every thing that seems to lean this way is denounced with unmitigated severity, and it has become the spirit of the age to hate Rome with a deadly hatred. But this very fact makes the danger on the other side so much the greater—its hatred to Rome very easily runs out into hatred to all positive religion, or at least creates an undue disregard of its claims. In view of these facts, therefore, it becomes necessary to point out its faults and defects, or rather its dangerous tendencies, and to do it with an unsparing hand, may be the strongest evidence of our love to it, in its proper churchly and sacramental character.

of spiritual advice and admonition. It is allowed to have no binding force in the settlement of our faith, or of the true sense of the holy Scriptures—every one must be left to draw such information from its sacred pages as to it may seem necessary, and to form a faith of its own, in purely subjective and independent style, without the intervention of ecclesiastical authority in any form. It makes, however, professedly vast account of the Bible—it will have the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, as the rule of its faith, in the absence of all ecclesiastical tradition whatever; but by its violent and arbitrary exegesis it turns it into a nose of wax. No account is made of the voice of the Church, in any sense, as the voice and meaning of the Scriptures. Private judgment, in its purely negative and unhistorical capacity, according to this modern mode of religious thinking, is the tribunal to which both Scripture and the Church must be brought for final settlement and adjudication. To believe a single doctrine of the Bible, or to take the voice of the Church as the faithful interpretation of its true sense and meaning, without such previous common sense adjudication, or measurement of its whole length and breadth, height and depth by the narrow compass of its own contracted mind, would be considered the height of ecclesiastical pedantry, or a hankering after the “flesh pots of Egypt.” No reverence for the past, and no living communion and fellowship with its history, enter into its theological thinking and scheme, but all turns on the narrow pivot of its own bigoted self.

Such, it seems to us, is the character and tendency of much that is considered Protestant and evangelical religion, at the present day. The whole picture looks somewhat gloomy if brought face to face with apostolical Christianity, as this comes to view in the New Testament and in the history of the early Church, where the Church is always presented as a divine institution and supernatural fact—the body of Christ—the pillar and ground of the truth, built on the apostles and prophets, and showing unto the world the manifold wisdom of God, and executing God’s will in behalf of the world’s salvation. The thinking of the early Church was throughout mystical, churchly, and sacramental—“holding fast the form of sound words,

once delivered to the saints." It had no sympathy with the radical and unchurchly spirit, so exceedingly popular and common in our own age. The Church, according to it, was the only proper channel or medium of divine grace and salvation, as the bearer of which it was held to be always necessarily present in the world. Of course, it is not necessary that the Church be considered a uniform scheme, either as regards doctrine or polity, fixed and finished from the start. It seems by far more reasonable and in accordance with its actual history—to say nothing of Scripture—to consider it a living organism that comes to its final completion only by organic growth and historical development; and changes must, therefore, necessarily follow and grow out of its living onward progress. Yet it dare never lose its objective character and force for the faith of the world, or be theoretically or practically separated from the promise, "Lo, I am with you alway!" All such violent, unsacramental proceedings tend directly to full and final shipwreck on the shoals of infidelity and rationalism. The Church challenges our faith as a divine supernatural constitution in some real form, and the denial of this fact involves the denial of the historical significance of the incarnation, and of Christianity, its historical continuation and completion.

2. The prevailing doctrinal and churchly-radical character of our modern Protestantism produces, of course, also an undue disregard of the priestly character of ecclesiastical functions, or of the liturgical and devotional side of Christian Cultus. It addresses itself in undue prominence to the mind or the understanding, while it fails to satisfy the deepest wants of the emotions and feelings. It wrongs the idea of objective grace and life, and makes strenuous efforts to bring everything here, as well as in the sphere of doctrine, down to the flat level of its own sectarian mind and consciousness. In its fanatical zeal for "spiritual" religion, over against dead and cold formalism, it is losing sight too much of the objective, mystical and sacramental character of the Church and its official functions, and hence it has banished the Priest, demolished the Altar, and abandoned the use of the Liturgy. The idea of sacramental grace is not simply ignored or neglected by this modern self-

styled evangelical school, but denounced as a dangerous heresy. The "preacher" plays the main part in its irreligious exercises, who is placed directly into the pulpit with an open Bible as the only guide of his ministrations, depending upon his own private judgment and the direct aid of the Holy Spirit for its true and faithful interpretation. The congregation may meanwhile remain altogether passive, looking upon the whole routine of his ministrations as an intellectual treat, or rhetorical entertainment, or taking part only in loose, irreverent and purely subjective style. Its radical and unchurchly tendency places it in continual danger of turning an easy somersets into the vortex of infidelity, or of rushing headlong into the whirlpool of sectarian fanaticism. Having abolished the idea of subjective sacramental grace, it of course does not make proper account of educational religion—this is altogether foreign to its theory and scheme, and whatever influence it exercises in favor of religious training, is of the most vague and arbitrary character. Its ideas of charity rest on the same false and rationalistic basis—on human sympathy rather than on divine grace, as shed abroad in the hearts of his people. In a word, it runs out into bald intellectualism, sneers at the mystical, cherishes a deadly hostility against everything that savors of a churchly and sacramental spirit, falls in readily with all kinds of innovation and humbug, and gives the most sacred and solemn interests into the hands of an ungodly and irreligious world; and hence, to it, the Church is *not* a divine supernatural constitution present in the world, in a truly human form, for the salvation of the world; the sacraments are *not* the media and bearers of divine grace, the ministry are *not* the stewards of the *mysteries* of God, but all must meet on the square of *common sense*, no matter how narrow and contracted this may be.

Such is the reigning genius of this modern evangelical scheme—such are some of its characteristic features; but it is evidently too poor and meager to satisfy the universal consciousness of the Christian world. As already remarked, it does gross injustice to the idea of objective grace and life, and wrongs the devotional feelings of our nature, and accordingly it must

eventually receive its sentence of condemnation at the bar of Christian Cultus. Already decided tones of dissatisfaction are uttered from all directions, against its lofty and self-styled pretensions. The Priest, the Altar, and the Liturgy are felt to have a place in the Church, as well as the Pulpit and the Preacher. Christianity is felt to be not simply a system of doctrine, but really and truly spirit and life, bubbling forth continually in the bosom of the Church, by the means of grace, as a means of deliverance from sin and death; and this growing consciousness of the objective force and power of Christianity must necessarily lead, in the end, to a better understanding of the nature and significance of its priestly functions. What makes this matter peculiarly interesting is, that the most decided appeals in favor of the introduction of liturgical worship, of catechetical instruction, of a plan of systematical benevolence, and much besides that belongs to a sound and healthy state of ecclesiastical discipline, come from those who were formerly constitutionally and fanatically opposed to any thing of the kind, and who stood in the service of an altogether different system. But this only proves what we have repeatedly asserted, that such a bald and unsacramental religious theory or system does not satisfy the deepest wants of our nature, and hence the reaction that is now beginning to make itself felt against its false pretensions is not to be considered as the result of taste and fancy simply, wrought out by the free and independent exercise of the individual will, but as the deep and earnest longings rather of the universal Christian consciousness, for the revival of the grace bearing character of the Church and its official functions.

3. But we must pay more particular attention here to Charity, in which all other Christian graces must necessarily come to their final completion. Without this, they avail nothing, and consequently it must occupy a prominent position in every form of ecclesiastical polity that lays claim to evangelical right, or apostolical succession. It is, however, a lamentable fact, that it does not reign sufficiently prominent in the present state of evangelical Protestantism. It has hitherto been principally and almost exclusively concerned about the develop-

ment of Christian doctrine, or the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, and benevolence did not enter universally into its operations as of equal importance and right with the prophetic office or function. This again gave it a one-sided and false tendency, and made it incapable of meeting all the wants of society. Its defective character as regards systematic benevolence for charitable purposes, or for the support of the poor, has given rise to numerous institutions and societies outside of the Church, whose object it is to supply these wants. This does, however, not only rob the Church, or the religion of Christ, of a vast amount of its influence by divesting it of its principal charm and glory; but it divests charity itself of its heaven-born character, and drags it into the sphere of politics, irreligion and utilitarianism. The Church finds, therefore, at least an indirect rival in these societies, and some Protestant bodies seem to become conscious of this fact, being that they take positive ground against them. But all mere negative proceedings in regard to the matter wrong the wants of society, and must fail to accomplish their object. The establishment of these societies or associations has been caused by the actual and culpable neglect of the Church itself, and she can only bring about their abolition, or prevent her members from connecting themselves with them, by making provision in her own bosom for the supply of the wants, which are now supplied by them. But this evidently makes the renewed exercise of its peculiar functions necessary—the revival of the office of deacons and deaconesses, in its proper apostolic and evangelical significance and character—for without this, systematic benevolence can never carry into effect its charitable purposes and aim.

We are aware that the defective character of the benevolent operations of Protestantism is sometimes excused on the ground that it aims to make society as a whole, a grand benevolent association, by instilling principles of true Christian charity and mercy into every one's heart; and it must be confessed by every candid person, that its merits, in this respect, are far superior to those of its formidable rival—the Church of Rome. It has cultivated a spirit of universal good will and of general

Christian liberality, which Romanism, with its exclusive policy, was never able to produce, in spite of its finished system of ecclesiastical tactics. But its advantages in this respect do not furnish an excuse of its own faults and defects, in another direction. To do full justice to the character and mission of the gospel, and to the universal wants of mankind, it must not only cultivate a general spirit and habit of Christian liberality, but it must also make provision for the accomplishment of its specific ends and purposes. And it will really not do to shift the difficulty by saying, that such specific measures are not required on account of the general willingness of evangelical Christians, to relieve the suffering poor. Actual facts flatly contradict any such wholesale assertion, and no one can make it who is not either woefully blind or shamefully ignorant. "The poor ye have always with you," says Christ, and these very words, taken in the proper connection and sense, carry with them a decided force in favor of special systematic operations for their support; and we are glad to witness a widespread and growing consciousness of wrong and guilt in this matter throughout evangelical Christendom, and an energetic effort for improvement in the right direction.

Our benevolent operations generally seem, however, to rest on a wrong basis—they proceed too much from mere sympathy, rather than from the consciousness of divine grace, as this comes to view in the ties of Christian fellowship. There is too much common sense in them, using the term in opposition to the child-like faith which governed all the benevolent and charitable operations of the early Church, and their subjective fickleness and the accidental nature of their motives have a tendency to make them spasmodic and irregular in their effects. But this low view of Christian charity is but the natural result and necessary consequence of the low and unsacramental view of the Church and its functions, which underlies it. Rob the Church of its objective divine character and force, and its charitable operations must sink to the same low rationalistic level, and lose their steady activity and superhuman force. This also, we are glad to say, is beginning to be felt, and well indeed may we rejoice in view of this fact, since this furnishes

the only proper starting point for improvement in the exercise of Christian charity—we mean the consciousness of many on behalf of evangelical Christians, as regards the fundamental cause of the defective character of our present benevolent operations, which lies in the low and rationalistic views, now too generally prevalent, concerning the Church and its official functions.

4. We have been thus particular in drawing a somewhat dark picture of some of the extreme tendencies of modern Protestantism, in order to draw from the general fact an important conclusion, viz: *Protestantism, in its present condition, does not present a full and normal state of Christianity, as this is expressed in the character of Christ and in his blessed gospel, and it seeks its final completion, therefore, in a still higher degree of perfection.* We do not draw this conclusion to disparage its great merits, or to rob it of its numerous laurels. Far be it from us, that we should take away a single mite from the weight of its glory. Yet we must not be blind to its faults and defects, even in our dream of infallibility we hurry it to the goal of speedy inevitable ruin. With all its faults and defects it may still be a higher and more perfect form of Christianity than that from which it sprung, which had of course also its defects and diseases, and this in fact seems to be the only way in which it can be brought to a proper sense of its wants, and of its final destiny. But as regards the correctness of the conclusion, let facts be considered—let it be shown that the three fundamental factors of the history and progress of true Christianity are not fully developed in their normal relation, in its present form and condition, or in the general scheme of its polity, as we have endeavored to do in the course of this article, and no more is required to prove its correctness. No one that has any knowledge of its actual condition, or that has candor and liberality enough to examine impartially into its real state, can deny that it is predominantly and unduly prophetic, and that the priestly and kingly functions are not allowed to come to the full and normal exercise of their significance and force in its polity and Cultus. Its monstrous doctrinal difficulties and differences, its endless schisms and here-

sies, its crippled benevolent and charitable operations, and its present deep and earnest struggles in favor of a more churchly and sacramental conception of its own peculiar life and Cultus show really clear enough, that it must and does look beyond its present state as the goal of its perfection and final destiny, and that it can never reach that degree of perfection, when all shall be one in the unity of the faith, and in the knowledge of the Son of God, after the fulness of the measure of the stature of Christ, without including much which it now excludes and denounces ; not saying a word of its culpable neglects and unintentional faults. As long as Protestantism does not present a full grown stature or form of Christianity, comprising all that constitutionally and necessarily belongs to it, as the historical continuation of the life and character of the God-man himself ; as long as it does not embody in its polity Doctrine, Life, and Law in their normal and living relationship, working Faith, Hope, Charity in the full fruition of their heaven-born earth-redeeming character, so long we must not blindly and fanatically assert that it stands in need of no reformation, or that it must stand forever in its present form, as the faithful resuscitation simply of biblical and early Christianity. Let us rather hope and pray for a more perfect state of the Church—when it shall be more perfectly imbued with the Spirit of Christ—when its form shall correspond more fully with its inward supernatural life and constitution—when the spirit and form of its polity shall more faithfully express the mediatorial character of Christ, its blessed and glorified source and head—in short, when it shall be “clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.”

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I. E. G.

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES.

CASES OF CONSCIENCE, OR THE INQUIRING CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTED, &c., &c. By Messrs. Pike and Hayward. New Edition, a late London Edition. Philadelphia. Smith & English, 86 North Sixth St. 1855.

WHEN a book lives a hundred years, and a new edition of it is then published, we may be sure there is something in it. This long vitality must have something to sustain it. Especially may we be sure that when a work on topics pertaining to practical piety, is thus long lived, there is something in it to satisfy the ever recurring spiritual wants of the human soul. Not the least recommendation of the book before us, is that it was first published in 1755, and is now republished, after the lapse of a century. And a careful investigation of it will show that it has body and substance enough to secure this longevity. It is plain, pointed and practical, and is eminently fitted to serve as a guide to the sincere and humble Christian. It grapples with those very difficulties which Christians are most likely to meet in their own experience, some of which are exceedingly perplexing, and the manner in which it endeavors to dispose of them is skillful, affectionate and evangelical. Two or three of the questions proposed and answered may serve as indices of the general drift of the book. "Case 1. How shall we distinguish between the workings of natural affection and the real exercise of grace in religious duties?" "Case 23. How may a professor, who fears lest his experiences are counterfeit and not genuine graces, come to such satisfaction concerning his state, as shall encourage his continued reception of the Lord's Supper?" "Case 18. How may a Christian know that he grows in grace?" &c., &c. Ministers will find this volume a valuable aid, in the work of pastoral instruction, if put in the hands of young converts who yet hope with trembling.

C.

THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS, *with an Introduction by Edward Hitchcock, D. D., President of Amherst College, and Professor of Theology and Geology.* A new Edition, to which is added a Supplementary Dialogue, in which the Author's Reviewers are reviewed. Boston; Gould & Lincoln. New York; Sheldon, Lamport and Blakeman, 1855, pp. 376.

THE relation of science to religion is a subject which has, for

many years, engaged the serious attention of the Christian philosopher. The discoveries of the former have happily served not only to illustrate, but also to confirm the teachings of the latter. Especially have the most recent investigations in the departments of astronomy and geology, contributed much towards unfolding the truths of divine revelation, and enlarging the mental vision of the intelligent Christian. It must be admitted, however, that much of what has been brought to bear upon the truths of religion from the sphere of astronomy, rests upon no better foundation than that of plausible hypotheses. Of this nature are the teachings, which assume, that there is a plurality of worlds, and that these worlds contain inhabitants of a spiritual and intelligent nature like unto man. It is not strange, therefore, that there should be a difference of sentiment even among intelligent Christian men with regard to the propriety and validity of such teachings.

The astronomical discourses of Dr. Chalmers have been long before the Christian public, and the grand and magnificent views which they present, have found many admirers. Yea, his speculations drawn from the science of astronomy, in relation to innumerable worlds besides our own, peopled with intelligent inhabitants, have come to be pretty generally regarded as unquestionable truth. There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule, among which the author of the work, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, occupies a prominent place. He calls in question the position, which assumes a plurality of worlds, and especially the fact of their being peopled with intelligent inhabitants like unto man. He does this on philosophical grounds. His arguments are drawn particularly from astronomical and geological science. Though in some respects, his conclusions are too sweeping to meet with anything like general concurrence, yet there is much truth in many of his positions and much instruction is to be obtained from a careful and candid perusal of his work. One pleasing feature about it, is the fact, that, in all his investigations, the author manifests the highest reverence for the teachings of divine revelation, and seeks throughout his work to exalt and not to disparage the Christian religion. F.